

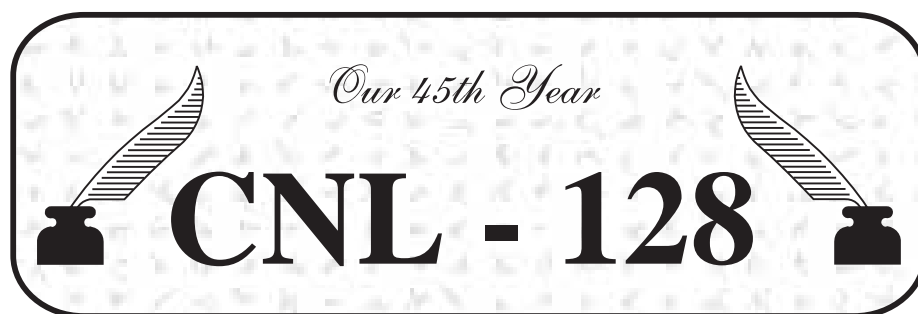
THE COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

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Welcome to CNL-128. This issue provides our readers with excellent studies on three diverse topics in early American numismatics. Three of the four authors have contributed papers to *CNL* in the past and need no introduction. The fourth author, although well-known and respected within the numismatic community, is new to *CNL*. I'm pleased to welcome Ray Williams, the current president of C4 (Colonial Coin Collectors Club), to the pages of *CNL*.

In our previous issue, we were treated to an excellent review and study by Dr. John Kleeberg of a famous American land hoard, specifically the Stepney Hoard. In this issue we are again pleased to present another outstanding study of a legendary American hoard, the Castine Hoard. Author Thomas Kays tells us:

Castine coins are meritorious for their North American antiquity. Buried three hundred years ago they compare favorably to all other, newer coin hoards recovered from North American land sites. Part of the Castine hoard comes very well described with full numismatic identity and photographs for our continuing attribution and study. No similar coin hoard recovery tale includes such specific numismatic data for coins buried at land sites at the turn of the 18th century. Contemporary shipwreck hoards such as the H.M.S. *Feversham* do exist but are quite different in constitution from land hoards. Castine must be the oldest and best-documented numismatic land hoard recovered from North America.

Studying early American coin hoards allows the casual coin collector to imagine what it must be like to hit the numismatic jackpot, win the lottery payable in old coin or dig up a fabulous, real buried treasure. Hundreds of old coins come to light every year, centuries after they were lost. Lucky finders

often feel unexpectedly indebted to the long ago depositor under an obligation that can never be fully repaid. By asking questions of who first saved then lost this old money and under what ordinary or extraordinary circumstances, helps us hold in context the true historic value of hoards beyond their mere material wealth. Academic study of 17th century numismatics, American history and colonial economics benefit by that intimate human spark conveyed by a touch-piece fallen cold to the Earth, resting for centuries, when we behold that self same coin our ancestors coveted. We may better understand how misers and spendthrifts amassed this little wealth and imagine what foolishness, mishap, petty crime or serious skullduggery befell them to unwittingly bestow this small inheritance upon us, their precious silver bright from commerce or savings of centuries past.

Based upon two old photographs of coins from the Castine Hoard, Tom has made a startling discovery which questions the time period in which the hoard was thought to have been deposited. He weaves this discovery into the history of the region and even treats us to a little historical fiction. All-in-all, Tom's paper is an interesting read which just may encourage you to get up off your couch, dig out the metal detector, and go huntin' treasure.

Tom contributed an excellent feature paper to CNL-116 titled "When Cross Pistareens Cut Their Way Through the Tobacco Colonies." (This work is available as a free download from the ANS website at www.amnumsoc.org/cnl.) He is currently working on a book, of which he says:

I hope the book will describe all true circulating foreign, colonial and early Federal coins and tokens used in Virginia up to the Civil War. I've assembled numismatic details on over one thousand locally dug numismatic items thus far. Look for Nuremberg jetons and crooked Elizabethan "fiddlers" found around Jamestown, counterfeit George II halfpence dug from the counterfeiters lair along the back alleys of Duke of Gloucester Street, Williamsburg, cobs and cut pieces-of-eight loosed from the banks of the James River below Richmond, pistareens and picayunes lost along the Shenandoah frontier, early trade coins of the West Indies and new federal dismes found at Potomac

landings and even coin weights, scales, counterfeiter's tools, small coin hoards still in their purses and pocket-knife carved coins tuned into political folk art around Civil War campfires. Here is the true story of the very old and very odd small change picked up by a legion of relic searchers over the past half century in the Old Dominion. Early coins lost by the close of the 17th century account for less than 5% of the old coins in the ground at the Civil War. Old coins lost during or before the Civil War are still dug up every week in Virginia, a land that boasts nearly four centuries of continuous habitation by coin-using people. The accelerating pace of real estate development keeps driving faster the pace of recoveries. Coupled with progressively more sophisticated vacuum-tube mine detectors, solid-state metal detectors, and now programmable coin shooting machines with depth/metal discrimination displays, they kept on "beeping" over progressively deeper coins throughout this past half century giving rise to many impressive lifetime dug coin collections quietly tucked away by successful weekend relic hunters. Retired pioneers in electronic colonial coin recovery now need their finds documented even if only by a second hand account, before the circumstances of digging their best coins are altogether forgotten. Diggers of spectacular colonial coins are a quiet lot, yet they usually recall precisely within a few feet the exact spot, the minute/hour/day, what else they found nearby, and what they did and thought before, during and hyperventilating at hole-side after "THE" find of another good year. Invariably their next thought was to wonder if there is a second deeper coin in that hole. Back to work. Decades later when that special colonial site is gone, having stood ten feet in the air above a new and quite level bulldozed fast-food parking lot, or under a sea of town homes the treasure recovery stories remain fresh as yesterday in the minds of diggers who often become perfectly willing to tell the real details once they know no more old coins can come from their best spot. This is an imperfect sort of rescue archeology, to reconstruct colonial context from nonacademic sources as they remember long ago finds and show a few old coins as proof, yet this is precisely the situation with the coins of Castine, our primogenitor tale of recovery of an important North American land hoard.

I'm sure I speak for many of us, when I say I can't wait to get my hands on Tom's book one day.

Next, in this issue, we present a study of the original 1881 heliotype photographic print of New Jersey coppers that was published by Dr. Edward Maris in his monograph titled *A Historical Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey*. Authors Dr. Roger Moore and Ray Williams, both enthusiastic students of this coinage, provide some interesting conclusions about the production of this plate. The authors have determined that the plate was produced using a four-step process. They came to their conclusion by comparing several original plates which, in itself, was a difficult task due to the rarity of the plates and their dispersal throughout the country.

Our final paper takes us back to Bermuda and Hogge Money. We are pleased that Mark Sportack, an authority on Bermuda's early money, has provided CNL with a study concerning the re-emergence of Hogge Money. Acceptance by American numismatists of Hogge Money as the earliest coinage made specifically for North America came slowly over many, many years. Mark methodically traces the chronological sequence of discovery of the different denominations known today. It is an interesting detective study in an effort to uncover the facts from the mists of time concerning today's extant specimens.

Finally, I wish to remind you that the CNL issues published by The American Numismatic Society have been recently made available on CD. The CD contains issues 104 through 126 inclusive. The issue files are in PDF format and are completely searchable by using your software's FIND command. The price of the CD is \$45 (\$48 outside the US). An order form for the CD can be downloaded from the CNL web page at www.amnumsoc.org/cnl/ or you can order the CD by contacting Juliette Pelletier at Pelletier@numismatics.org or (212) 571-4470 ext. 1311.

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Second Thoughts on a First Rate Coin Hoard: Castine Revisited

by

Thomas A. Kays; Alexandria, VA

Why Revisit the Origins of the Castine Hoard?

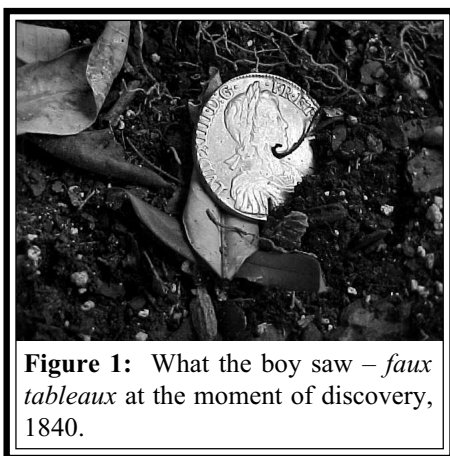
A treasure of nearly five hundred old coins spanning dates back before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, overall worth about a hundred pounds sterling, lay hastily concealed in the cleft of a rock beneath a shrub of alders, undisturbed by humankind for many scores of years. Growing alder roots slowly widened the stony cleft. Perennial spring thaws washed out a trickle of French *écus* emblazoned by young Louis XIV (*le Roi-Soleil*). In stately procession the French crowns descended the declivity. Borne along with muddy alder detritus perhaps a century after the decease of the "Sun King" whose image they bore, they lay about in the dirt beneath the main cache, glinting a regal argent before being slowly blanketed by leaf mulch. One stray coin, rooted out by a boy hauling firewood in 1840 eventually led to the unearthing of this legendary numismatic treasure by the boy's inquisitive father half a season later. They found it near the Bagaduce River, an estuary bordering the Castine Peninsula, situated near the mouth of the Penobscot Bay, just inland from Maine's eastern Atlantic coast about thirty miles from the falls at Bangor (formerly the Kenduskeag Plantation). The Castine Hoard seems to be the earliest well-documented land hoard recovered in North America. The hoard comes from a land thick with history.

Once part of French Acadia, later part of England's Massachusetts Bay Colony, but now within the State of Maine, the Castine Peninsula from the air looks like a wide arrowhead pointing southwest. The Castine peninsula first held several Native American tribes including Woodland Indians who first experienced French explorers in the mid-1500s. Native goods attracted a permanent French trading post in 1613 and a Plymouth Company (of Massachusetts) trading post by 1629 which was ransacked by certain Frenchmen in 1632 and periodically thereafter. Disputes among rival French proprietors of Huguenot and Acadian Catholic origins caused Fort Pentagoët to be erected on the south shore in 1635. Baron Jean Vincent d'Abbadie de St. Castin (Baron Castin) arrived in Pentagoët in 1667 and by 1670 Fort Pentagoët was in his hands. A Flemish vessel bombarded Castin's Fort and its approximately 30 inhabitants in 1674 and Castin's Fort was destroyed in 1676. And so it went with the little stronghold changing hands at the drop of an anchor provided the attacking vessel was well manned. Baron Castin lost the Fort in 1690 and regained it again in 1693. The Castine peninsula remained the British seat of operations throughout King William's War that ended in 1697. All through the colonial era each time war broke out between Britain and France their loyal colonies echoed homeland hostilities by skirmishing with their neighbors. They needed little prodding to go a'plundering. The English sacked the estate of Anselin Castin, the Baron's eldest son in 1703 during intramural hostilities at the outset of Queen Anne's War at about the time the Baron returned to France. Baron Castin, being a leading citizen and wealthy fur trader, sowed much speculation and gossip about when his avenging return might be expected. Some speculate the treasure was buried at this time.

Anselin went back to France in 1722 to succeed his father's estate leaving his brother Joseph Dabadis St. Castin in charge. A new fort, built on the same site was later burnt in 1723 during prolonged Native American conflicts known as "Dummer's War." The British firmly captured the Castine Peninsula and occupied it as a loyalist bastion in the American Revolution, holding on into the final peace of 1783 followed by a spiteful and difficult decampment. The British again

briefly occupied Castine in 1814 delighting in retribution for old grudges after exiling Napoleon to Elba, or so they thought. Today vestiges of the British-built fortifications at Fort George can be found nearer the north shore toward the summit with artillery batteries flanked out in logical progression. The village of Castine occupies the eastern side of the peninsula. For centuries artifacts of prehistoric and historic interest routinely washed out along the south shore. From an early account:

It was not on the [Castine] peninsula that these coins were found, nor within the limits of the town of Castine, but on the banks or shore of the Bagaduce River, about six miles from the site of Castin's Fort, in the town of Penobscot. This river, at its mouth, forms the harbor of Castine, and is navigable for small vessels for several miles above the village. At about six miles above, is a point called 'Johnson's Narrows' or 'Second Narrows,' where the water is of great depth, and at certain periods of the tide forms a rapid current. A path leads across the point, and from the adaptation of the shore as a landing place, it is probable that the usual passage from Biguatus to Mt. Desert, was up this river as far as the narrows. Near the narrows the coins were discovered. The first indication of the hidden coins was perceived at the close of one of the last days in November 1840, by Captain Stephen Grindle, on the farm he owned and occupied at the Second Narrows, before described. While engaged with his son, Samuel Grindle, in hauling wood down the bank to the shore, the latter picked up a piece of money near a rock which was partially buried in the ground. The rock was on a side hill, and when uncovered, presented an irregular surface of about four square feet. Its situation was some twenty-five yards from the shore, and in a direct line of a beaten track through the bushes, which had been used as a path across the point for a time beyond the remembrance of the oldest inhabitants. At the termination of this path on the shore, is an indentation or landing place, well adapted for canoes, and the natural features and facilities of the spot are confirmatory of a tradition that one of the Indian routes from the peninsula to Mount Desert and Frenchman's Bay was up the Bagaduce river, and from thence across to Bluehill Bay.



The land was very rocky and covered with a second growth of trees; the original growth having been cut about seventy-five years. At the time the coins were found, Capt. Grindle, together with his father-in-law, Mr. Johnson, had resided on the farm for over sixty years. Portions of the top of the rock were embedded in the soil to the depth of a foot, and a clump of alders grew around. The appearance of the place is not now [1859] the same as when the discovery was made. Repeated digging has laid the rock bare to the depth of several feet, and the side hill has washed away. Upon finding the first coin, which proved to be a French crown, Capt. Grindle and his son commenced digging away the earth around the rock,

and by the time it was dark, had possessed themselves of eighteen or twenty additional pieces. They then abandoned the search, intending to renew it on the following day. That night a severe snowstorm occurred, which covered the ground, and rendered further investigations during the winter impracticable. Early in the spring they resumed the examination. On the top of the rock, embedded in the mass, one or two coins were found, and upon striking a crowbar into the declivity, and grubbing up the alders, they came upon a large deposit, numbering some four or five hundred pieces of the currency of France, Spain, Spanish America, Portugal, Holland, England, and Massachusetts....

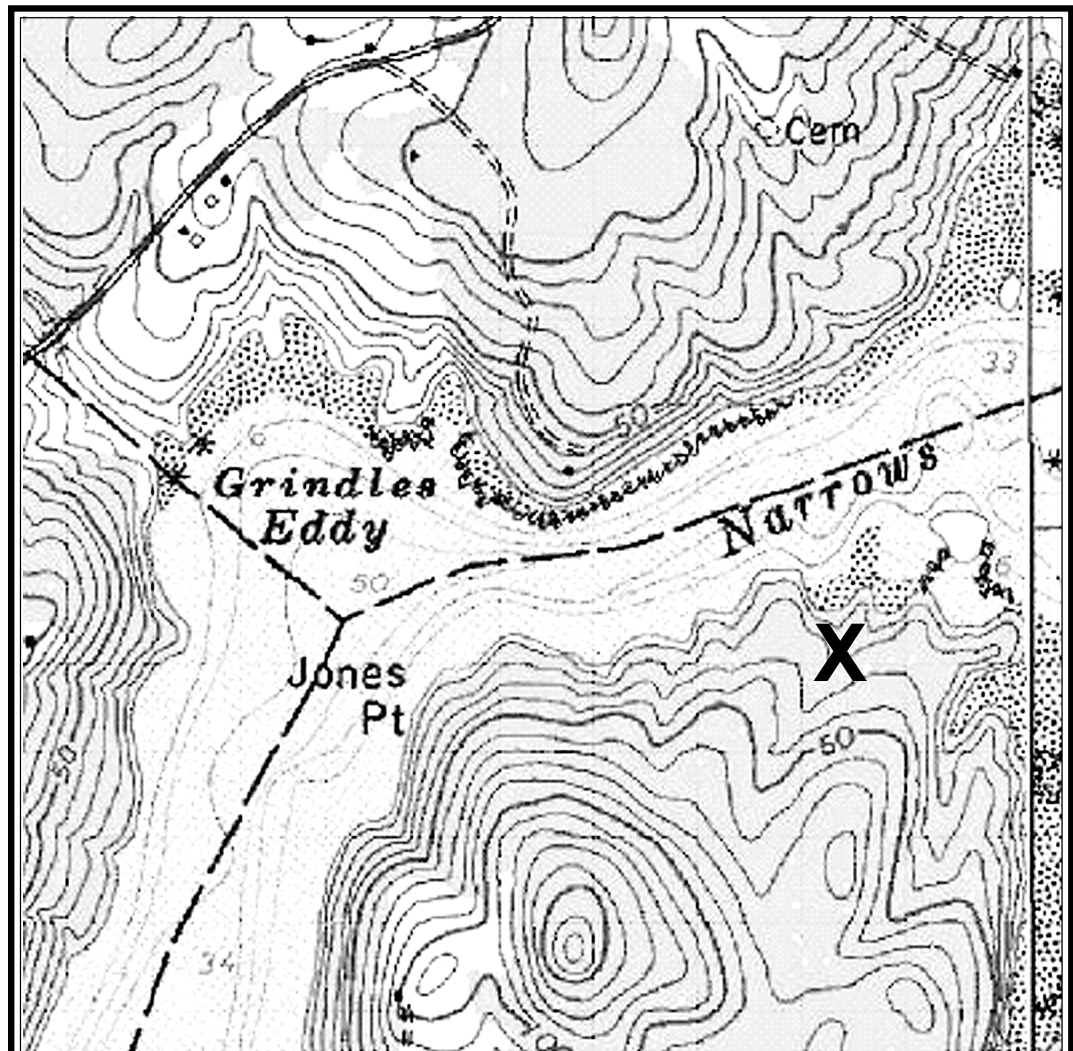


Figure 2: Topographical Map of the Bagaduce River six miles above Castine showing the approximate location of the Recovery Site (marked by the X) of the Castine Hoard. *Courtesy of the United States Geological Survey.*

Dr. Joseph L. Stevens, of Castine, visited the spot early in April 1841, while Capt. Grindle was still engaged in searching the ground, and several coins were dug up in his presence. An opportunity was afforded him to examine at his leisure the entire collection, before the owner had disposed of any portion, and to select the most perfect specimens of each variety that could be found. These seventeen in number, he paid for at the rate of old silver. Other gentlemen secured similar samples; but Dr. Stevens' collection is the most complete that had been preserved.

From Castine: and the Old Coins Found There by Joseph Williamson.

As the crow flies, Brooklin, Maine, is about ten miles southeast of Castine on the Blue Hill Peninsula. Brooklin became famous for another numismatic mystery in 1957, when archeologists excavated an 11th century silver coin found in the context of an early Norse fishing camp.

Mysterious old coins found in small towns really energize townsfolk to popularize and capitalize on their local folklore. Thanks in large part to one old Norse copper that set a time to the campsite relics, Brooklin's fame still reverberates today. The Brooklin Chamber of Commerce invites you to come and see where Europeans *may* have traded with the Abnaki and Woodland tribes 500 years before Columbus came to the New World. If one old copper could put Brooklin on the map just imagine what a great hoard of old silver coins would do for Castine!

We know much about the Castine Hoard today because Dr. Joseph L. Stevens, the town's physician and local antiquarian, examined the coins soon after discovery and took careful mental notes of this memorable treasure. He redeemed a few examples of the coins from their lucky finder for proof, as well as for their historical curiosity, before Captain Grindle spent the remainder of the hoard. Back in the early 1840s old foreign silver was "somewhat suspect" legal tender, usually well worn and clipped. Perhaps 5% were outright counterfeits. By 1840, merchants, if asked to consult their coin scales, fineness tables and current exchange rates often would not bother. They simply discounted all foreign coins beyond their likely actual worth to avoid the inconvenience. For instance, two bits of Spanish colonial silver, fairly valued at twenty-five Federal cents in 1795 when new, commonly traded at just seventeen Federal cents by 1840. Within a score of years all such worn out foreign coinage that remained in circulation was demonetized. Once foreign coins became bullion most quickly dropped into the melting pot since they could no longer be spent. Public interest in collecting coins was next to nil when the Castine Hoard came to light in 1841.

By 1859 people were looking carefully at their change. New small sized "nickel" cents with a Flying Eagle and then an Indian design had begun to replace large cents and half-cents which were discontinued in 1857 and began to disappear from change by 1859. The American public was of two minds about losing the familiar large cents. Some gladly turned them in as dirty and too heavy for change purses and others adamantly hoarded them. Well-to-do American boys, the sons of hoarders, naturally took the next step from simply accumulating old coins to collecting coins by date. Collecting domestic coins had grown to a "coin mania" sweeping the nation by 1859. Amazing cases where old American coins brought two or four times face value were published in the popular press fueling speculators and giving rise to coin dealers in earnest. If not for the presence of many Massachusetts Pine Tree shillings and six-pence in the Castine Hoard, coincident with the birth of American numismatic study into our colonial heritage, we would probably know nothing about Castine's foreign silver that was also recovered. Surprisingly, the majority of the coins of the hoard fall outside the traditional American colonial coin series popularly collected today. With the high prices of colonial coppers collectors may now turn to other coins that circulated during the colonial period.

Our primary information about the hoard comes from an article written by Joseph Williamson who published in the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* (Vol. VI, pp. 107–26) the personal recollections of Dr. Joseph Stevens who recounts his conversations with Captain Stephen Grindle, who had passed away only a few years after finding and spending the treasure. Readers needing primary sources may wish to go online now to obtain a full copy of the original paper and read all of Williamson's fascinating second-hand recounting of the recovery of the treasure before continuing with this armchair analysis. Under the aegis of the Castine Scientific Society, the Wilson Museum has reprinted Joseph Williamson's paper entitled *Castine: and the Old Coins Found There*. On the Internet see www.wilsonmuseum.org/bulletin.html or search for key words contained in the title: *Wilson Museum Bulletin* (Spring 2003, Volume 4, No. 24, [Part 1], and Summer 2003, Volume 4, No. 25, [Part 2]) to secure copies. These reprints include original text in Dr. Stevens's own words, early theories of deposit and interesting new site photos that may enable you to draw your own better conclusions from the same primary sources. In 1859, Williamson, in collaboration with Dr. Stevens, compiled concise numismatic information about

the hoard without the benefit of modern numismatic guidebooks. They relied exclusively on one seminal tome issued to identify foreign coins by their design for assay purposes, *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins of all Nations, struck within the Past century; showing their History and legal Basis, and their actual Weight, Fineness, and Value, chiefly from original and recent Assays; with which are incorporated Treatises on Bullion and Plate, Counterfeit Coins, Specific Gravity of Precious Metals, etc., with recent Statistics of the Production and Coinage of Gold and Silver in the World, and Sundry useful Tables*, by Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. Du Bois, Assayers of the Mint of the United States, published at the Assay Office of the Mint in Philadelphia in 1842.

As tales of treasure grow with the retelling, the original 1859 account was surpassed by more fanciful and farther removed stories. In 1875, after America's first blush with coin collecting had faded along with Dr. Stevens's clarity in recollecting events back 35 years ago, he showed his old coins to Samuel Adams Drake who remembers the treasure in *Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast*. Speaking of old Fort Pentagoët, also known as Fort Penobscot:

The whole ground has been explored with the divining-rod, as well within as without the fort, for treasure-trove; though little or nothing rewarded the search, except the discovery of a subterranean passage opening at the shore. These examinations were no doubt whetted by an extraordinary piece of good luck that befell farmer Stephen Grindle, while hauling wood from a rocky hill-side on the point at the second narrows of Bagaduce River, about six miles from Castine peninsula. In 1840 this worthy husbandman saw a shilling object lying in the track of his oxen. He stooped and picked up a silver coin, as bright as if struck within a twelvemonth. On looking at the date, he found it to be two hundred years old. Farther search was rewarded by the discovery of several other pieces. As fall of snow interrupted the farmer's investigations until the next spring, when, in or near an old trail leading across the point, frequented by the Indians from immemorial time, some seven hundred coins of the nominal value of four hundred dollars were unearthed near the surface. All the pieces were of silver. The honest farmer kept his own counsel, using his treasure from time to time to pay his store bills in the town, dollar for dollar, accounting one of Master Hull's pine-tree shillings at a shilling. The storekeepers readily accepted the exchange at the farmer's valuation; but the possession of such a priceless collection was soon betrayed by its circulation abroad. Dr. Joseph L. Stevens, the esteemed antiquary of Castine, of whom I had these particulars, exhibited to me a number of the coins. They would have made a numismatist's mouth water. French Écus, Portuguese and Spanish pieces-of-eight, Bremen dollars, piasters, and cob-money,¹ clipped and battered with illegible dates, but melodious ring, chinked in better fellowship than the sovereigns whose effigies they bore had lived in. A single gold coin, the only one found in the neighborhood of Castine, was picked up on the beach opposite the fort. (On an old map of unknown date Castin's houses are located here.) The theory of the presence of so large a sum on the spot where it was found is that when Castin was driven from the fort by Colonel Church, in 1704, these coins were left by some of his party in their retreat, where they remained undiscovered for more than a century and a

¹ "The clumsy, shapeless coinage, both of gold and silver, called in Mexico *máquina de papalote y cruz* ("windmill and cross-money"), and in this country by the briefer appellation of "cobs." These were the lawful standards, or nearly so, but scarcely deserved the name of coin, being rather lumps of bullion flattened and impressed by a hammer, the edge presenting every variety of form except that of a circle, and affording ample scope for the practice of clipping: notwithstanding they are generally found, even to this day, [1842] within a few grains of lawful weight. They are generally about a century old, but some are dated as late as 1770. They are distinguished by a large cross, of which the four arms are equal in length, and loaded at the ends. The date generally omits the *thousandth* place; so that 736, for example, is to be read 1736. The letters PLVS VLTRA (Plus ultra) are crowded in without attention to order. These coins were formerly brought here in large quantities for recoinage, but have now become scarce." — William E. Dubois, *United States Mint*.

I think the name of "cob" was applied to money earlier than the date given by Mr. Dubois. Its derivation is uncertain, but was probably either "lump," or from the Welsh, for "thump," i.e. struck money. — Samuel Adams Drake, *Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast*.

quarter. Or it may have been the hoard of one of the two countrymen of Castin, who, he says, were living two miles from him in 1687.

In 1882, *The Century; A Popular Quarterly* published Noah Brooks's "An Old Town With a History," where it was reported that a cache of two thousand coins was found. By 1890, the transition from fact to legend was complete with *The New England Magazine's* publication of "A Romance of Castine" by Isabel G. Eaton, in which Polly, our heroine, finds an old silver coin on the beach below Castine and breathlessly informs Philip, our hero, who reverently identifies it as a holy relic from St. Castin and the French occupation, *circa* 1650. As a footnote to this romance "there was unearthed in Castine a few years ago a piece of copper, with the inscription, "NOSTRA DAMA SANCTAE SPEI," engraved upon it. It was the name of the ancient chapel of St. Castin's time, which stood in the center of the fort." Edward Rowe Snow, a veteran teller of colorful New England tales, claimed that Captain Grindle's treasure was found in 1849 and had belonged to the daughter of Vincent, Baron St. Castin.



Figure 3: King Louis XIV – his more mature profile on five *sols* of Strasbourg, 1704, the year the treasure is believed buried. Louis' numismatic physiognomy aged over his reign.

Why be concerned about fixing the mysterious origins of the Castine Hoard? If the Castine Hoard was buried as early as people have been led to think, *circa* 1704, then it is the *only* one of its kind. It would be unique. It would be the earliest and best documented "savings hoard" recovered from a land site in North America. The Castine Hoard would be the yardstick by which all other early American land hoards could be measured. Other early coin hoards do exist, recovered from shipwrecks such as the H.M.S. *Feversham*, which loaded onboard coin and cargo from street commerce in New York City *circa* 1710-11. But the Castine Hoard trumps *Feversham* having been assembled perhaps a quarter century earlier and presumably lost locally without so ample an opportunity for monetary cross-pollination of unusual foreign specie as the New York City docks might be pregnant with. To help verify the Castine Hoard's claim to "first and best" North American land hoard, this paper considers whether a somewhat later burial, during the American Revolution, could be true. If so,

the Castine Hoard would still be important, but might lose luster as the undisputed "Rosetta Stone" for interpretation of 17th century American pocket change. If the Castine Hoard was deposited late in the 18th century as new evidence possibly indicates, then the author knows of no similar, surviving, numismatically well-documented, American land hoard assembled in the 17th century, to take its place. Hard evidence of late 17th century ready money discovered "in situ" would further fade into obscurity. You, dear reader, will have to decide.

Coin Hoards in Early America

Analysis of coin hoards is a well-practiced art in the old world. Coin hoards help pinpoint times of Greek or Roman occupation in Europe, map the ebb and flow of ancient city-state frontiers and chronicle the rise and fall of little-known tribal leaders. As signposts to ancient commerce, analysis of ancient coin hoards explains and confirms much about prosperous periods of otherwise unknown peoples, who may still assert their presence, confirming the unwritten past. Hundreds of archeologically well-documented coin hoards and perhaps thousands of undocumented hoards have been unearthed in Europe and Asia over the past two-and-a-half millennia, turning up soon after the advent of the coin itself. Archeologists gladly use excavated coins to help date soil layers and piece history together.

For a long period of time during and subsequent to the dark ages, the notion prevailed very extensively in the public mind, and dwelt in the dreams of statesmen, that a country was rich or poor according to the quantity of coined money it possessed. In times of violence and insecurity to property, this was in some form true of individuals, because the possessor of precious metals could, in exchange for them, always obtain that of which he stood in need; and those metals could be hoarded and secreted with safety, when almost all other descriptions of property were exposed to the inroads of lawless barons or the exactions of oppressive governments. The practice of burying gold and silver, universal in ancient [times] has been done away with in modern times, only in proportion as confidence in the security of property grew under regular governments... The practice was general in Great Britain up to the revolution of 1688, since when it has ceased with the necessity that gave rise to it. It followed, that where great quantities were concealed, much must have been occasionally found. Hence "Treasure Trove," during the Middle Ages, formed an important branch of the revenues of most European governments. – "Money," *United States Democratic Review*, Vol.19, Issue 101 (J. & H.G. Langley; New York, Nov. 1846.)

Accounts of finding old coins from land sites in the New World start to turn up with some regularity after the mid 19th century. Tales of the recovery of small amounts of old coins typically rated a footnote or sketchy coverage in newspaper human-interest columns as bric-a-brac space fillers on slow news days. Hoards recovered when gold and silver coins commonly circulated carried little premium over bullion value despite any numismatic interest. Coin hoards recovered long ago were rarely preserved nor are photographs or depictions of the coins documented to any degree of numismatic precision. For example:

The Fairfax Herald, [published at Fairfax Court House, Virginia] May 20, 1887 – "Mr. Wm H. Fox has shown us an old Spanish silver coin of date of 1772, about as large as a silver dollar. On one side are the words: "DEI GRATIA, CAROLUS III, 1772." On the other side: "HISPAN ET IND REX. F.M." Just before the war a man in Fauquier County, ploughed up an old earthen jar containing about \$800 in foreign coin, this being one of the lot."

Aside from one documented, common, Spanish milled, Mexican portrait dollar of Charles III (presumably without the inverted mint mark and assayers initials as they might have noted the upside-down mint mark/assayer "F.M." variety), the numismatic details about the remainder of the hoard were not documented (see figures 4 and 5). The bulk of the coins, \$799 worth, being naught but demonetized coin silver, no doubt were melted down long ago. This is typical.

Land hoards are different and distinct from shipwreck hoards, of which many lately salvaged examples have come to light since improvements in SCUBA gear and submersibles revolutionized underwater recovery techniques. Perhaps the earliest North American shipwreck hoard comes from three Spanish ships that sank in the Gulf of Mexico off the coast of the present-day Padre Island, Texas, *circa* 1554. Down went high grade, recently minted silver coins including a quantity of late series, pillar and wave style, Carolus & Johanna, one, two and four *reales*. These and many other recovered shipwreck coins certainly predate the Castine Hoard coins (see figure 6).

From the 16th to mid-18th centuries commerce between the Old World and New World was a dangerous prospect, conducted exclusively under sail with few lucky ships allotted by providence to survive the hazards of sea service beyond a decade or two. The ocean floor is littered with those who dared sail one time too many. Shipwrecks hold mobile public treasuries, like Swiss bank vaults trapped in a time warp, still loaded full with a king's ransom in ready money and deposited to the account of greedy King Neptune. These losses were acute since shipwrecks aside from the loss of their cargo also pulled from commerce the most active and liquid assets of gold and silver that the coin-poor colonies could provide, often obtained at premium rates "cried



Figure 4: Obverse/reverse of a 1772 portrait dollar of Mexico City, from a Chesapeake Bay shipwreck that sank, *circa* 1781 – Similar to the coin described in the *Fairfax Herald*, although this coin has uneven wear, especially on the lower reverse, as is often seen on shipwreck coins, subject to long abrasion from tides and surf.



Figure 5: Detail of inverted mint mark/assayer's initials - A common variety of 1772 Mexican dollar.



Figure 6: Reverse/obverse of shipwreck recovered, Colony of New Spain, late series, pillar and wave style, undated, four *reales* under Spanish co-regents Charles and his mother Johanna, with mint mark "Mo" from the Casa de Cortez, Mexico City, and certified by assayer initial "O", *circa* 1554.

up" in the weeks prior to departure. Shipwreck coins do not reflect the few odd sorts of small change left behind, after the fleet departed, which would be available for more pedestrian commerce. The depositor of the Castine Hoard collected the best coin at hand saving what coins crossed his palms perhaps back several decades before the newest dated coin in the hoard. Land hoards are more closely aligned in composition to the hard money economy fueling intra-coastal commerce as captured in smaller shipwrecks. Found further up navigable rivers, small draft shipwrecks may be thought to display the contents of a colonial moving van with a few private safe deposit boxes of personal savings frozen in mud, locked in time. Imagine antiquarians three hundred years hence examining just a few surviving private safe deposit boxes of today. Would they erroneously decide mid-20th century commerce probably involved the daily exchange of Kennedy halves and Morgan silver dollars as the predominant hard money medium of exchange surviving in what few *in situ* 20th century deposits they could study? These coin types would be among the most numerous surviving examples in savings hoards assembled, *circa* 1950 – 2000, especially were documentation to the contrary not available. Kennedy half dollars and Morgan silver dollars were saved, rather than spent, for much the same reasons the Castine Hoard includes so many full French *écus* and high grade, pieces-of-eight of the Mexican cob-style. These were "keepers" in their day, not the "spenders." Everyday spenders in 17th century colonial commerce, the true small change of our forefathers, remain a poorly documented lot of which the Castine Hoard may be presumed to be the best surviving representative, if buried *circa* 1704.



Mystery of the Old Photographs

A century after the Castine Hoard was unearthed, Sydney P. Noe (rhymes with "snowy"), the Chief Curator of the American Numismatic Society (ANS), inquired of the Maine Historical Society (MHS) about the current whereabouts of the Castine Hoard. Correspondence established that Castine coins had since become the property of that society and were to be seen in their headquarters in Portland. Sydney P. Noe, a veteran numismatic writer and editor of the ANS series, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, inquired whether the Castine coins could be loaned for an ANS exhibition of colonial coins in New York. Walter G. Davis, the MHS president, courteously granted Noe's request and all data regarding the coins in the society's possession were sent by Miss Mae Gilman, the Librarian of the Maine Historical Society. Noe was amazed to have received all the actual coins Dr. Stevens redeemed from the hoard, perhaps a few too many of them, and puzzled over the lot. He improved the documentation of their numismatic details in an issue of the *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* series, *The Castine Deposit: An American Hoard*, No. 100, published in 1942. Included in the MHS holdings was a set of old photographs of the coins of Castine in a "passe-partout frame" with a note on the back that this reproduction had been presented to the society Mr. Daniel Parrish, Jr., in 1883 (See figures 7 and 8 taken from the *Wilson Museum Bulletin*, Summer 2003, Volume 4, No. 25). Readers should



look carefully at these photos for a moment. Which coin does not belong? Questions about one coin in the old photos ultimately led to this paper.

The eighteenth coin of Castine, pictured so long ago, on the oft missing “Obverse” plate, was a “Macaroni Piece,” or a crude, two-bit cob of Bolivia, clearly **dated 769**! In figure 7, this coin is seen at the bottom, left-to-middle side of the figure, rotated ninety degrees to the right, and partially covering the title word “Coins,” almost as though it was reluctantly included in the photo at the last instant. The crude, late-style cob of Bolivia has a clear and unmistakable three-digit date. The date generally omits the *thousandth* place; so that 769, for example, is to be read 1769. Noe also received a 1768 one *real* of Bolivia and a contemporary counterfeit two *reales* purportedly of Lima, Peru, of the pillar and wave style, with a fantasy date of 1762. Noe puzzled over exact *termini post et ante quem* eventually assuming that these and additional contemporary coins he received from the Maine Historical Society were mixed up over time with the original hoard coins and generally dismissed them from inclusion based on the contradictory nature of their dates. Perhaps they were found at Castine under different circumstances and accumulated with Dr. Stevens's true hoard holdings as the years went by. The most difficult to dismiss is the 1769 two *reales* pictured as a part of the hoard in the pre-1883 photograph. It is possible that Dr. Stevens did not at first know how to read dates on macaronic pieces such as this and only later learned of its true date but for personal reasons chose to suppress it.

Inclusion of late-dated coins would burst the romantic bubble of speculation as to the early origins of the hoard, leaving little possible association with the noble and wealthy, Baron Jean Vincent



Figure 9: Enlarged obverse image of the misfit 18th century coin in the 1883 photograph which is a [1]769 two reales of Potosí. Photo by Sydney Noe, *The Castine Deposit*, Plate IV, published by the American Numismatic Society, 1942. The above image is rotated 90° CCW as seen in Figure 7 so that the date appears at the bottom of the coin.

d'Abbadie de St. Castin who returned to France in 1704, after striking it rich as a fur trader in the New World. A knowledgeable antiquarian might find an old Maine hoard that includes a 1769-dated coin to be of a more ignominious origin, perhaps associated with the disastrous Penobscot Expedition of 1779. When the first published account of the hoard appeared in 1859, America was caught up in a patriotic fervor and would not appreciate being reminded of the worst American naval disaster until Pearl Harbor; that was the Penobscot Expedition. The target group of American "colonial" coins, later sought by modern colonial coin collectors, was in its infancy. For an antiquarian, with a few examples still in his possession, discovering he had a late date coin would simply kill the more fanciful historical musings about the possible sources of the hoard and rule out many romantic, patriotic, and more politically correct origins and explanations. Dr. Stevens, our antiquarian, [described among other town notables by Varney in 1886 as "for many years the *leaching* (leeching?) physician and a valued citizen"] would miss his chance to make waves within historical society circles. He would fail to put Castine on the map. One new coin could sink an otherwise fabulous and historically interesting treasure story. Williamson would have a short

and ignominious story to tell for the Maine Historical Society. Imagine the gallant story of fearful and fleeing Americans, running for their lives through the woods before the victorious British. Dr. Stevens's old coins might still amount to real money but they would be nothing much for a Yankee to brag about. I'll present a less obvious explanation for the hoard, if buried late, that Dr. Stevens may have missed which might redeem the whole affair in the eyes of Dr. Stevens's fellow countrymen. You, dear reader, will have to judge.

The Penobscot Expedition – Part I

In June 1779, the British sent a contingent of soldiers to Majabagaduce, Massachusetts (present-day Castine, Maine) and established the military and political headquarters of a new colony for loyalist subjects fleeing the rebellious colonies. In addition, the new fortification (Fort George) served as a source of protection for British shipping operating in the Bay of Fundy and along the Coast of Nova Scotia, and prevented a land assault against southern Canada by American forces. On 24 July 1779 a combined American naval and land force of approximately 40 ships and almost 3000 men under the command of Commodore Dudley Saltonstall entered Penobscot Bay and laid siege to the new fort. Just as victory appeared to be within their grasp, the Americans were forced into a disorganized retreat up the Penobscot River by a British relief squadron that arrived at the entrance to the bay during the first half of August.

The British squadron was commanded by Sir George Collier and comprised of six vessels: the 64-gun line-of-battle ship *Raisonable*, 32-gun frigates *Blonde* and *Virginia*, 28-gun frigate *Greyhound*, and 20-gun frigates *Galatea* and *Camilla*. As the opposing fleet closed in on the mouth of the bay, an American lookout vessel rushed to the flagship *Warren* to alert the Commodore. Saltonstall, greatly unnerved by the news, hastily convened a council of war. At its conclusion, all members voted unanimously to evacuate the land forces and retreat up the Penobscot River. During the early morning hours of 14 August, the Continental Army deserted their lines and re-embarked their troops and equipment aboard transports.

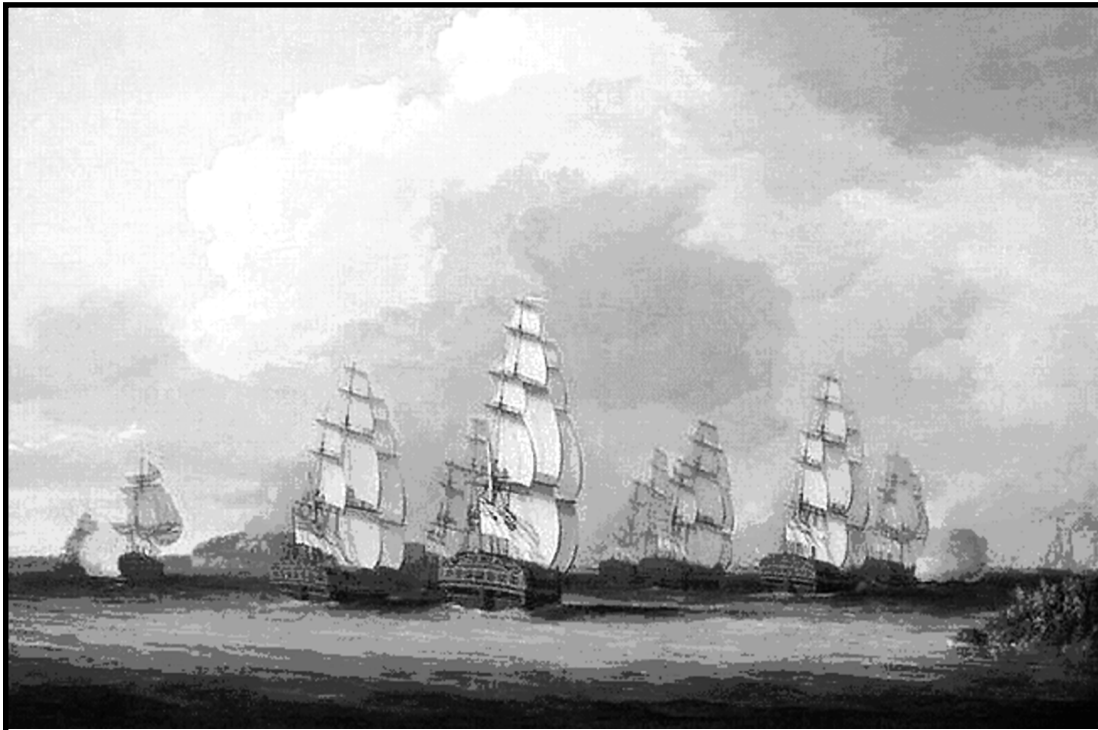


Figure 10: *Destruction of the American Fleet at Penobscot Bay, 14 August 1779*, oil painting by Dominic Serres (1722-1793).

The transports attempted to run up the river, but were hampered by a lack of wind. The same problem prevented the American fleet's armed vessels and privateers from effectively forming a defensive crescent around the retreating transports. A sea breeze finally materialized during the afternoon, allowing the British squadron to enter the harbor under full sail. As the first of the British frigates drew within firing range of the American fleet, Commodore Saltonstall signaled to all his subordinates that it was every man for himself. Panic rapidly consumed the American's - three vessels (the New Hampshire State brig *Hampden* and privateers *Hunter* and *Defence*) attempted to escape along the west side of Long Island, but were cut off by *Blonde*, *Camilla*, and *Galatea* and either captured or scuttled. Several of the transports now had the wind in their favor but were unable to sail against the ebbing tide. As the British ships fired the first of several cannon salvos, the crews of most of the fleeing transports ran their vessels ashore, set them ablaze, and scattered into the countryside. A total of nine transports were captured. The rest of the American fleet – all of the naval vessels and some of the privateers and transports – escaped into the Penobscot River. – From the Naval Historical Center, Underwater Archeology Branch Website, 10 September 2003.

A Fiction of the Penobscot Expedition

The actual events of the preceding day, culminating in the hypothetical deposit of treasure on August 15th 1779, probably did not run anything like the following fictional account. This fiction is based on a few scant facts for which there is an outside chance of a long shot possibility, that in the chaos of the American retreat from Fort George in those dark days, someone on the run, exhausted from carrying a weighty load of old coins had to dump them among the rocks. He expected to return for them someday. We know he never did.

*** Start of fiction ***

Fictitious log of the Continental Navy Transport Brig (*en flûte*) "xxxx", Eastern shore of the Penobscot River above Fort George, August 14th, 1779 - AM. Wind calm.

Captain returned from *Warren* with Commodore Saltonstall's orders to depart. We ride low, overloaded with many companies of Wadsworth's Massachusetts Foot, some sick and wounded troops, and the usual irregulars and hard bargains found following the army. Several Continental officers, rumored to be from General Lovell's staff, also insisted on boarding with baggage. The troops are still fairly well provisioned with full kit and accoutrements. Several hundred pounds ordnance, some four-pounders in field limber, along with the officer's tents, sundry field kits and some livestock were stowed on-board in a hurried landing, as the Continentals left their lines before Fort George. We expect to rendezvous upriver on the Penobscot at a common landing somewhere before the falls at Kenduskeag Plantation [Massachusetts Bay Colony].

August 14th, PM. Enemy in Sight.

Our fleet is under full sail upriver in light breezes. Continental Vessel *Providence*, Massachusetts Navy *Active*, Privateer *Black Prince* and the rest of the American fleet continue to prepare to organize a defensive crescent about the transports. Odd, but they seem to be repositioning upriver from us. We didn't lose heart till the flag passed us running for the narrows at Block Island. Fodder for John Bull's frigates that's what it now seems we are volunteered for, to slow the enemy advance upon the flag. They say it was Collier's Squadron, forced us from besieging Castine when they stood in, under full sail with the advantage of a light sea breeze; and what a surprising sight! They didn't drop anchor at Fort George as expected, but continue after us upriver. Whenever they but threaten to conjoin their fire on the smaller and slower transports, our captains must strike the colors. May the devil take the hindmost! No transport scantling can withstand even a single broadside, lest scores of poor landsmen packed below be rendered into kindling. The men quietly listen for each death knoll and whisper their private oaths and supplications when another of our brethren strikes the colors or suffers the long nines. We continue making a few knots more than steerageway under sweeps (difficult to maneuver with so many landsmen about the deck) and under full sail in light airs, as the ebb tide builds. It is a maddeningly slow race. About two hours before dusk, with traffic blocking us from the main, we ran gently aground on a bar off the eastern shore about nine miles upriver from Fort George. With the ebb building, an enemy frigate coming about to rake our stern, and no time left to kedge, the Captain orders abandon ship. The landsmen have anticipated this for hours, sleeping on their kit, quietly smoking, rolling dice or playing cards, happy enough to

be leaving the siege by boat, but ready to jump for their element with little ado, now spurred on by the closeness of the enemy. The captain orders our brig's crew remain aboard, breaking powder kegs and spreading sailcloth and old paint to scuttle and fire this good old prize ship. We wear the meager provisions of our sea chests about us in sailcloth wraps and bundles. The approaching enemy frigate came within pistol shot before steering clear as fire in our rigging now imperils theirs. The Continental officers, ever insistent took time to offload vital powder kegs, carriage trunks and victuals using the Captain's gig to go ashore dry, while those that can swim and those that can't, flounder and wade ashore, dunked and half-drowned. We left the field guns on board to burn. Much of the Army's provisions are sunk in the mud and all are well baptized and bedraggled by the time they do make shore. As the fire builds from below decks to the main tops we dump most of the chickens overboard but cannot induce the cattle over the side leaving them to reconsider their fate between the devil's own fire and the black water, a long step below. The British frigate turns upriver engaging a steady hail of small arms fire from the main top, even after it is clear our vessel is a lost cause. *HMS Greyhound* - '28 slowly fights against the ebb and after a further exchange of grape at our tattered gig from her stern chasers, she passes our scuttled hull, hunting the next transport-in-line *Pigeon*. It was then I took a ball that passed clean through my calf, a flesh wound. From shore we soon tired of hurling insults at the lobsterbacks, and soon sought to organize expressions of our displeasure by way of rolling small arms fire, but we all saw the flash of a hundred Royal Marine bayonets aboard another ship slowly making our way from downstream and thought better of remaining so exposed.

August 14th, Evening.

We consider ourselves lucky though, giving thanks that we didn't strike and suffer capture as we saw other American vessels fall prey this day. It was to our good luck too, being onboard such a small fry among the larger American vessels. We seem to be the only ones landed on the wrong side of the Penobscot as the far shore seems crowded with men, smoke and sporadic muzzle flashes. Covered by our burning brig's smoke we run a short ways downstream to land what flotsam we may, keeping a lookout for the enemy by land and closing Royal Marines by water. As I turn from fishing up one of the chickens, I see some of the army (hopefully with a bit of dry powder) setting up a skirmish line to cover our egress along the highland overlooking the river. We see our cows further downstream, out of reach, standing on a bar. Disabling the gig we haul what provisions we could save, uphill as the line falls back. Rumors of Royal Marines soon to be mopping up ashore and our local, loyalist bushwhackers inland abound, as a score more enemy ships continue to pass in review by dusk. No doubt the tail end of the British fleet will anchor hereabouts as dusk turns to dark, rather than run the river blind on soundings. We face a long overland

march through the wild, with hundreds of fresh enemy troops in the wings. We eventually must cross over to the west, to the American-held side of the river, and catch up the fleet somewhere before Kenduskeag Plantation. The men are in low spirits. We decided to part company, with many recently entered the Army first parted, simply heading the fastest way home. The Massachusetts Navy seamen intend to follow the fleet all the way upriver, staying well inland, in order to skirt any British traps set on the Penobscot's dark shore. I was one of the last to reach the site of the debate about the direction of our march, not quite used to my makeshift crutch. As the discussion broke up at the head of the track, resting a moment and higher up on the rocks, I saw a Continental staff officer nonchalantly taking his bearings. He plays at "Mr. HOP'kins" too, limping badly with a twisted foot obtained in the landing. He came down to join me in watching the tricky passage of the British flag, a huge, French-built '64 illuminated now, by burning hulls on the narrow river. My new acquaintance, ever insistent as quartermasters are, appropriates my salvaged chicken for his last French crown, [he says] seemingly indifferent to paying twice the going rate. He wobbles, carrying a heavy leather satchel, big enough to stash several chickens. The most able of the Massachusetts Foot lead the way upstream keeping near the shore leaving us behind. The rest of the landsmen simply fall in step behind the next man in line, with little hope of rest or comfort this muggy, buggy and miserable night.

August 15th, Early Morning Hours before Dawn.

A small party of the more mobile of the walking wounded, think better to turn-about and head downstream, as we are too slow to keep up the race to the north along the eastern shore on foot. Better to take our chances ducking shore patrols and British pickets by stealth than to run before ravening Royal and Loyal bayonets. We plan to head slowly south, more directly toward home by floating around the fort, as floating seems easier than walking just now. With luck we hope to make Boston in a fortnight. Slowly setting out across the point toward Mount Desert, the four of us muster a little hope by passing ideas for bolstering our chances to drop unawares down the backside of John Bull's defenses. An hour before first light we had crossed the peninsula arriving at the north shore of the Bagaduce River above the second narrows. We passed several abandoned and burning homesteads along our way, with several households still packing to flee. In great disarray they beg for protection, news of loved ones in the militia or to know how close the enemy follows on our heels. It took only a short while to find and appropriate an old bateau with which to cross over. Just beyond the second narrows we saw a string of picket's campfires down the western shore leading to Fort George. Near first light we half sunk the bateau near the shallows on the south shore of the Bagaduce, in plain sight, but disguised upside down like an old log smeared with mud and covered with branches. We spread out and climb up seeking cover along an old track leading

away from the little sheltered landing. Watching the river traffic from high up on rocky ground, we settle in to rest and sleep among the alders and ruminate a little more about our fate. We think best to await the cover of darkness before traveling again. Word spreads from a local fellow that this old deer trail eventually leads to Mount Desert and Frenchman's Bay.

I kept hearing odd metallic "chinks" a while ago half in sleep, and after fully waking, more scuffling from up the hillside reveals my friend the quartermaster lurking among the bushes. He nonchalantly takes his bearings again, this time writing them down on a crumpled piece of paper, and then he begins plucking my chicken. His foot looks worse and he's flushed in fever. I notice he carries a nearly empty leather satchel now, lighter by far from whatever dunnage he had hobbled thus far toting. Talking later in the day I find he claims to be a terror at cards and I believe it, having seen him fleece Wadsworth's men of nearly a quid in but an hour of gamboling back onboard the transport. He claims he did even better at cards once, taking the life savings of several old French mercenaries back at Falmouth a month ago. He did well to leave with their money and his skin as they were nasty customers and are likely hunting for him among the survivors. He showed me a fine silver porringer engraved with script initials "AC" with which he would never part, which came with his winnings. But since then the color of his money has been spent down after weeks of entertaining popular French ladies in the finest hotel in Townsend. He says he is always first in line come payday, ha ha. I find he talks too much. We rest through the heat of the day, but stay alert for any commotion. Sure enough I lost that old French crown back to him in a game of draughts for he bets with abandon; though at least he did share his supper with me. I suggest he should consider turning himself in for parole if his fever grows worse, him being a city-dandy not cut out for roughing it. He went back up the hill at that remark. Sneaking past the rear guard at Fort George without raising an alarm seems our harder task, compared to crossing the bay by night, landing without being seen by the enemy watch, and commencing our long march down the western, friendlier shore, toward home. As we gather up to go I find the quartermaster taking his bearings again. He finally has nothing more to say. To Boston, Ho!

*** End of fiction ***

All the necessary ingredients were in the stew on August 15, 1779, for the hasty dump and run of a weighty plunder by an American in rebellion, just beyond sight of enemy watchers guarding the Castine side of the Bagaduce River as they must have been arrayed above British held Fort George. Perhaps we can surmise an army quartermaster as our depositor, one who had been rescued from Castine's shore by the Massachusetts' State Navy or perhaps the Continental Navy's Transport Service. A ship owner pressed into the Transport Service would be insured (on paper in continental shin plasters for what they were worth), to recover the cost of his share of his abandoned/burning boat due to enemy action but no one would recover the loss of any undocumented old coins left aboard. Payroll for the Colonial forces saw little ready money by

1779, so who would not be plucky enough to go over the side and take a chance on drowning to carry away a small, yet heavy, fortune in hard cash? Our hoard holder may have come ashore dry shod, not quite so panicked as the troopers and raw landsmen, perhaps having participated in many a hot action in previous employment. Someone like that could have come across all sorts of old plunder with a keen mind to keep it. This profile of our potential depositor [American military man, perhaps associated with payroll/plunder and in hasty advance to the rear during the Penobscot Expedition] is the first of several attempts to illumine the possible character of the late Castine Hoard depositor.

The Penobscot Expedition – Part II

The surviving American vessels managed to progress upriver, [well away from Castine] albeit slowly and with considerable effort from their crews. Unfortunately, some ships began to lag behind the others. Many, including the ordnance transport *Samuel*, were abandoned and torched near the present-day town of Winterport. Other vessels, including the Continental Navy vessels *Warren*, *Providence*, and *Diligent*; the Massachusetts State Navy ships *Tyrannicide*, *Active*, and *Hazard*; a small number of privateers, and one surviving transport (the sloop *Pigeon*), continued to slowly move north toward the river's head. The *Warren*'s progress was severely hindered by its massive size, and it was soon unable to keep up with the rest of the fleet. Consequently, Saltonstall ordered his crew to heave to and anchor the flagship near Oak Point. The rest of the fleet pressed on, finally coming to anchor around midnight 14 August. The following morning, they resumed the journey, sailing as far as the falls at Bangor. Unable to proceed further upriver, the commanders of the remaining vessels in the expedition made final preparations for a final stand against the British. Of the approximately 40 American ships that sailed into Penobscot Bay on 25 July, only ten survived the retreat to Bangor. The once powerful armada was now comprised of two small Continental Navy vessels, three Massachusetts State Navy brigs, four privateers and one unarmed transport.

On the night of 15 August, American General Solomon Lovell appeared aboard *Providence* and informed the naval officers that Saltonstall needed assistance to tow the *Warren* upriver. News that the flagship had not yet been destroyed invigorated the men, and numerous boats were promptly manned and sent down to Oak Point. Despite such good tidings, the privateer crews began scuttling their vessels during the early morning hours of August 16. The first vessel to be destroyed was the transport *Pigeon*, followed shortly thereafter by *Hector* and *Black Prince*. *Monmouth* exploded as flames from *Black Prince* reached its deck guns and powder stores. A few hours later, a messenger arrived from Oak Point with news that the *Warren* had been set ablaze on Saltonstall's orders and was already consumed. The same fate befell the privateers downriver. With no other option left to them, the officers and crew of the remaining ships abandoned their craft and set them on fire. Since most were "half a pistol shot" or less apart, the flames rapidly spread from one vessel to another. By late afternoon 16 August, the river near Bangor was filled with the smoldering hulks of ships that had either exploded or burned to the waterline and slipped beneath the water. Only forty-eight hours after Collier's British squadron arrived at the mouth of Penobscot Bay, most of the American fleet lay in ruins along the course of the river. – From the Naval Historical Center, Underwater Archeology Branch Website, *The Phinney Site* - 10 September 2003.

A small silver coin excavated recently at the Phinney Site, along the Penobscot River, was recovered from the base of a burned vessel's mainmast step mortise. It is an early Spanish two *reales* produced at the royal mint in Segovia in 1708 (during the reign of Philip V). This specimen was the result of a method of production called roller-mill (or roller-struck) coining. The two *reales* coin, also known in the English colonies as a *pistareen*, enjoyed wide circulation in North America prior to, during, and after the American Revolution. In fact, it is estimated that half of the coins in

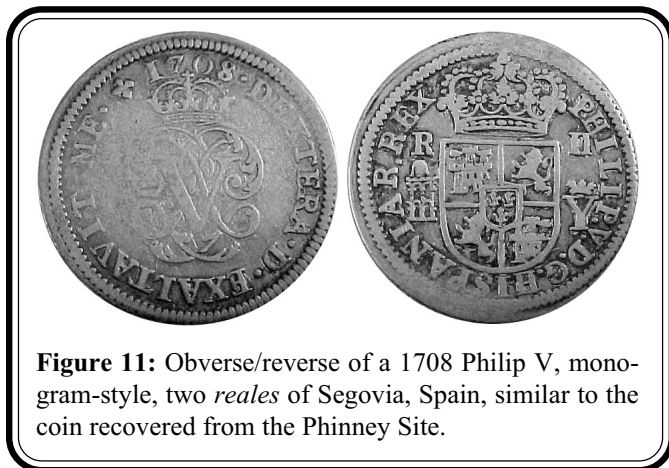


Figure 11: Obverse/reverse of a 1708 Philip V, monogram-style, two *reales* of Segovia, Spain, similar to the coin recovered from the Phinney Site.

colonial America were various denominations of Spanish *reales*. Since most coinage in the American colonies remained in circulation years after being issued, the presence of a low-denomination 1708 coin aboard a suspected Revolutionary War-era vessel is not at all surprising.

It is good luck by the ancient customs of the sea to place coins below a ship's wooden mast before "stepping it" or seating the mast base, held aloft by block and tackle, down through the decks of the ship

to rest on the mast step mortise. If done improperly, a dropped mast like a thrown harpoon can crash through the hull and sink a fledgling ship, speared by its own mast to the river bottom along with the shipbuilding and naval careers of those at fault. If stepping the mast must be done at sea under other than extreme calm conditions it is all the more important to appease the sea gods for good luck, strong rope, calm wind and no wave. The 1708 Philip V monogram-style pistareen is an unusual one-year type of Spanish two-*reales*, ceremonially placed at the stepping of the main mast years back when this hull first graduated for sea service. Old Spanish pistareens held in quantity for commerce were available by the barrel-full as late as 1789 in Birmingham, England. They generally disappeared after 60 years of popular circulation throughout colonial America (circa 1745 – 1805) as full weight Spanish colonial *reales* became more prevalent after the Revolution. No pistareens were found in the Castine Hoard.

Back to the Castine Hoard

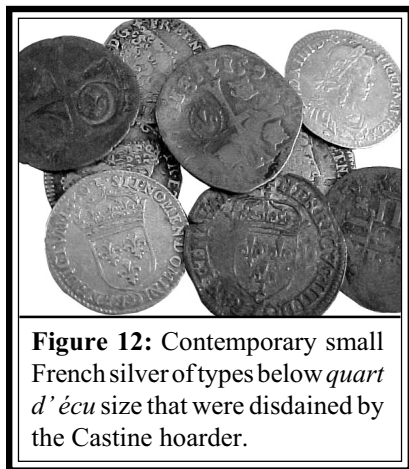


Figure 12: Contemporary small French silver of types below *quart d'écu* size that were disdained by the Castine hoarder.

Some things we do know for sure about the Castine Hoard. It may be classified as a "savings" hoard, characterized by coins, all of a single metal (silver), of high denomination being mostly large crown-sized coins, with some halves and quarters of crowns. Shillings and six-pence were present, but nothing smaller. Uniformly missing were all the tiny silver coins of the age such as billion coinage, the "old *douzains*," including revalued domestic French *sols du quinze*, countermarked in 1640 by a *fleur-di-lis* in beaded circle for exile to the French colonies. Absent were domestic French *douzième d'écus*, *dixième d'écus*, four *sols* and their even more diminutive fractions. Missing too were non-French, contemporary small silver such as half-groats and three-pence, Spanish bits and *medios*, along with their fractions. Castine coins present were mostly of high grade with little wear yet they span dates across at

least seventy years. These were the "keepers," the cream of the crop of ready money available to our Castine hoarder. Per Joseph Williamson's account of antiquarian Dr. Joseph L. Stevens recollection,

Most of the coins were French crowns, half-crowns, and quarters, all of the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., and bore various dates from 1642 to 1682. **With a few exceptions** they were

bright and but little worn, and when placed where they were found could not have been in circulation long...A large part of the money, numerically considered, consisted of the old Massachusetts or Pine Tree currency, of which there were fifty or seventy-five shillings, and nearly as many sixpences...The next largest proportion consisted of the clumsy, shapeless Spanish coinage, commonly called "cob money" or "cobs," and sometimes "cross money," from the figure of a cross, which always characterizes it...Among the Spanish coins were a few pillar dollars, which in size and execution resemble the cob money. The one secured by Dr. Stevens is of a hexagonal shape, and is much worn and clipped...Some Spanish half dollars, or pieces of four réals were also found...There were several pieces of Portuguese money found...A few Belgic coins were found...It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance, taking into consideration the extensive intercourse which the American colonies always maintained with England, that among so many and so various coins, but a single piece of the money of that nation was found in the collection. This was a shilling of the reign of Charles I.

Note: The term "pillar dollar" used above in reference to a 1657-dated, eight *reales* of *Nuevo Reino (No Ro) de Santa Fe*, the mint in Colombia, is understood not to be referring to more modern "pillar dollars" meaning 1732 to 1772-dated silver coinage of Mexico / Central / South America. Both do feature the Pillars of Hercules, symbolic of the Straits of Gibraltar, which were the Mediterranean gateway to the New World. Neither is the 1657, No Ro, eight *reales* "clipped" in the modern sense of the term; it is quite original in form as it came that way from the Mint on an out-of-round, cob-style flan.

Unfortunately, only about 3% of the coins survive thus rendering tenuous any guesses about the full hoard's complete constitution. To make matters worse, Dr. Stevens, who rescued these few surviving specimens cherry-picked from the whole lot, choosing the best and most diverse examples of each kind thereby skewing many normal hoard analysis techniques that deal with trends in whole populations. No damaged, cut or holed coins were selected for posterity by Dr. Stevens; so we don't know whether such were present in the lost portion of the hoard indicating long circulation. Williamson stated "with a few exceptions they were bright and but little worn." Include even one "new-dated" coin that Dr. Stevens missed, or a badly worn old coin that fails by dint of heavy wear to fit the 17th century loss profile in the missing 97%, and you may cast an 18th century spin on all the lot. We want to see the least, the last, and the lost of the hoard, the most ugly, the most modern coin, the ones that no one would think to save for posterity, the "spenders of 1841" to accurately define *terminus ante quem*.

Early Theory of Deposit

Let's first assume that the eighteenth coin, dated 1769 in the old photograph, really is a later addition, or as Sydney Noe calls it an "interpretation" on the part of Dr. Stevens or someone else who tendered it in error to the Maine Historical Society as a Castine Hoard piece, sometime prior to 1883. The span of the hoard "as pictured" from the remaining survivors would be 49 years, or from 1641 to 1690. The original paper described a rix dollar of Holland bearing a date anterior to that of the landing of the Pilgrims (1620). The lion dollar specimen that Dr. Stevens selected happened to be dated 1641. The original paper also describes the French coins as spanning the years 1642 to 1682, and yet a 1690 *demi-écu* of Bordeaux is seen in the old photo. Noe included the 1690-dated coin in the hoard. The hoard span by the early theory of deposit runs from (prior to) 1620 to 1690, or approximately 70+ years. We will for the moment discount all later date coins as additions or interpretations, as Noe did. Then the hoard sat in the ground awaiting a lucky finder for about 140 years. We can believe it was concealed soon after the latest date of the newest coin, or no earlier than the year 1700, given some time for transit by sail of the 1690 *demi-écu* from Bordeaux. Nothing prevents the hoard from a much later burial, bounded only by 1841, the date of discovery. From the 70+ year span of dates we may deduce the hoard could have

been collected by an individual over one lifetime or a single generation who were most active in saving between 1660 and 1685 when the majority of the hoard coins were most likely set aside being pulled from circulation with little wear as attested by so many examples in high grade. Yet it is hard to reconcile so many early French coins in easy contact with contemporary Massachusetts Bay coinage being the work of one individual with feet in both French and English camps. The coins being composed all of a single metal, silver, agrees with the majority of savings hoard compositions. English copper coin, tokens really, were little available in America prior to the reign of William III, which also seems consistent with our understanding of small change problems in late 17th century America. Spanish copper coin may have been available farther south, in small quantities, by about 1680, but none was found with the Castine Hoard. One thing that does seem a bit odd on the face of it is the lack of English (and Irish or Scottish) coins as Williamson points out. However, the lack of English coins is to be expected as recently noted by Joseph Lasser and Erik Goldstein.

During the colonial era, the Tower Mint, Britain's London facility, did not issue money as a government agency; it struck coins only for a fee at the request of a private individual or an institution holding bullion (in the form of plate, ingot, or foreign coinage) it wished to convert into English currency. Between the late 1600s and the 1820s, the bullion value of silver coins (the primary circulating medium) almost always was higher than their face value. A shilling as bullion consistently was worth more than a shilling as money. Therefore, newly struck full-weight coins often were hoarded immediately or melted and cast into ingots and exported primarily to the Far East. Britain (and its colonies) possessed no major silver resources for ready, consistent conversion into coin. The relatively small amounts obtained came from successful naval encounters, treasure salvage, payments received in royal transactions, and other sporadic events. For more than 100 years, very little new silver came to London's Tower Mint...As a consequence, it is unremarkable that the American colonies saw little British silver, and that gold was of such high value it did not have a major place in daily commerce. – Joseph R. Lasser and Erik J. Goldstein, "The Real Story of British Silver in the Colonies," *The Numismatist*, a periodical of the American Numismatic Association, September 2004, p.49.

Aside from a single Charles I shilling, the majority composition of the hoard was Louis XIV French crowns, which is not surprising considering the proximity of French Acadia. The minority composition was local Massachusetts Bay silver. A smattering of other exotic European, Mexican and South American mintages represented in Dr. Stevens' selections must have really caught his eye. Prior to 1700, one might expect a high mixture of foreign to domestic coinage since except for Massachusetts silver there were no domestic silver coins. The Castine Hoard's foreign to domestic ratio is about 3:1 indicating local assembly rather than having been imported *en mass* as belies many shipwreck hoards. Overall, the entire hoard's low diversity (about three-fourths from France, and one-fifth from Massachusetts Bay) has been skewed through the high diversity seen in the survivors. This representation was created by Dr. Stevens cherry-picking one of each kind. If pulled from circulation in America, most all the coins would be newly arrived, recently made examples as evidenced by their unclipped, uncut, sans-hole, and light state of wear. No further details coin origins from metropolitan France, at mints in Paris and Lyon, and from the port cities of Bordeaux, and Bayonne. The Tower Mint of London, England and New England's Massachusetts Bay Colony Mint at Boston are represented, as are two coins of the Netherlands, including a *leeuwendaalder* (lion dollar) of Gelderland, and a three *gulden* piece (equal to sixty *stivers*) from the islands of West Frisia (North Holland) on the North Sea, which, no doubt, locally passed through Dutch New Netherland (New York). Also included were coins from Oporto, Portugal, international trade coins from metropolitan Spain at Segovia, and from the Colony of New Spain at Mexico City. South American coins from the Colony of New Granada came from Potosí and Lima, including a rare "Star of Lima" eight *reales*, (of the scarcer, L*M, –

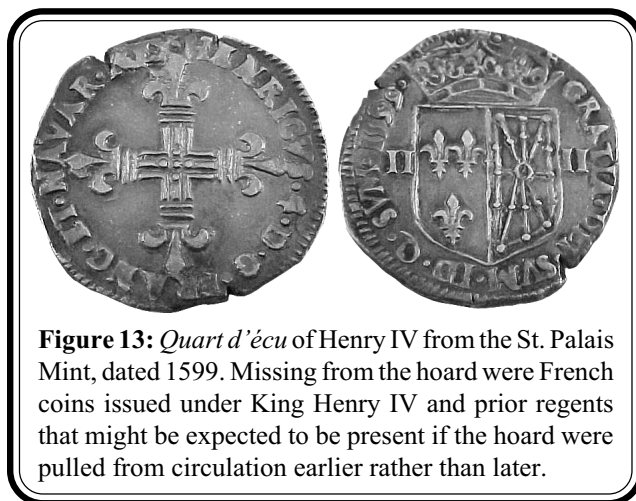


Figure 13: *Quart d'écu* of Henry IV from the St. Palais Mint, dated 1599. Missing from the hoard were French coins issued under King Henry IV and prior regents that might be expected to be present if the hoard were pulled from circulation earlier rather than later.

8V variety), and a rare eight *reales* from the Santa Fe de Bogotá mint (PoRM variety) which add real class to the surviving examples.

Coins circulating for long in late 17th and early 18th century America were soon clipped, sweated, slung, greedily cut and even pressed thinner to be clipped again by nefarious parties outside the mint, yet no evidence of this sort of metal thievery is seen in the hoard survivors, indicating a short duration of circulation for this best-of-the-best sample. No surviving coin was holed, another indication of short

circulation. You may also note on the oldest pictured coin, you do not see a half-century's worth of heavy wear on the 1641 lion dollar, which is common for savings hoards, per Gresham's Law. Lightweight, crude coins were the first to be passed on in commerce, while high grade, full weight, and well-executed coins were the "savers," then, as now. If you discredit Noe's counterfeit 1762 two *reales* as a later interpretation, then no contemporary counterfeits are present in this small sample, which is also consistent with later transportation of the mechanic skills prerequisite to counterfeit coin. Successful local counterfeiters generally did not appear much before 1680 in North America. The hoard is missing gold coins that were too dear to lose and difficult to spend especially if you needed change in ready money. Also absent are many of what we believe to be popular types of silver coins often seen in contemporary exchange rate tables.

Coins such as *patagons* (cross dollars) of Brabant, and the silver riders (each worth 63 *stivers*) of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands are missing. Old rix dollars of the empire from the German States, Netherlands and Austria are absent. English coinage of the Civil War (breeches money) ought to have been present by 1665 as political émigrés fled in all directions including America. All of the above coins would have appealed to our hoarder and seem to fit his savings mode preferring crowns and shilling pieces of good silver. Contemporary references in foreign exchange tables to such coins missing from the Castine Hoard do indicate that they were seen in early American counting houses. Also missing from the Castine Hoard were many suggestive contemporary items such as New England (NE) shillings, bent coins (often interpreted as love tokens or witch pieces) all forms of copper (coins, tokens, jetons), native trade silver (often made from coins) and non-numismatic items often found with coins including coin weights, coin scales, and religious medallions. The hoard is missing all popular 18th century silver coins such as Spanish colonial "pillar dollars" (*columnarios* in the newer sense) and Spanish *pistareens*, both if present being sure signs of post-1740 commerce.

If the Castine hoarder were a loyal French Catholic colonist since most of the coins were French, how did he obtain so much British North American, Boston-made, Massachusetts silver, along with a few Dutch coins probably from the New York trade, and why cache his money near Castine which was part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony? A French hoarder might at first seem the more likely, due to the large number of French coins, yet an English hoarder with plunder, or smuggling ties to the French, presents a situation much more in need of hiding, down Castine way. It would be easier for an Englishman to spend any English crowns and perhaps the small change locally, leaving ill-gotten French coin to pile up in anticipation of the melting pot to hide their non-English origin. It seems likely such a disparate grouping of money would only hang together if some

portion were stolen or “liberated” depending on the continental situation at the time. It would all spend, but only a portion could be spent with no questions asked, which is true for both camps.

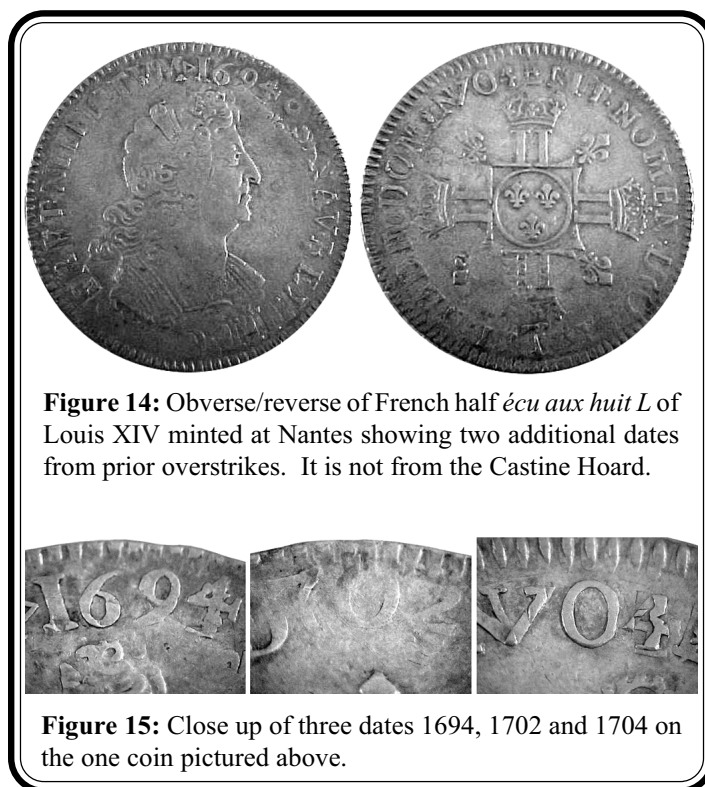
Late Theory of Deposit

Let us now assume the contrary. Let the 1769-dated, eighteenth coin of Castine in the pre-1883 photo really be a part of the original hoard. Accepting the eighteenth coin within the Castine Hoard nullifies many early theories of accumulation and all early theories of deposit. The hoard span now runs from sometime prior to 1620 to 1769, or about 150 years, and the hoard was only in the ground for about 60 years, from, say 1779 to 1841. This coincidentally is about the same length of time Captain Grindle and his family had owned the land where the coins were found, and also equals the age of the trees about the site per Dr. Steven’s observation. We allow a decade for transit time by sail, from South America of the newest dated, 1769 two *reales* coin. With a reasonable lag in transit time from Potosí, to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a good bet is that the Castine Hoard could have ties to the American Revolutionary War. The Maine woods around Fort George were abuzz with activity as the British occupied and fortified the area in 1779. Castine became a secure English loyalist base of operations, which never fell in battle to the Americans during the war and remained occupied by the British until the final treaty of peace in 1783. The summer of 1779 was an especially suspect time for late deposit, as the Americans invaded in the summer, attempting to drive the British out of Fort George at Castine being rapidly reinforced by the British garrison. The actual site of recovery was not in Castine at all, but several water miles northeast along the Bagaduce River on the far shore, near present-day Brooksville, Maine. The burial site was well situated just around the river’s bend beyond observation of any pickets ranged out from Fort George along the British held Castine peninsula.

The long span of the “late deposit” hoard, better than 149 years (from prior to 1620 until 1769) must tip the scales from the effort of an individual saver to the collective wealth of a family of savers who, for more than one generation, stashed this money aside. Grandparents, parents, and children all may have contributed, saving the Castine Hoard coins in some measure during several generations of economic boom times. The coins must have been pulled from commerce at different times, by unrelated people, and only amassed through a gathering of plunder near the end of their circulating life. If the hoard were the work of a single individual, the same time allotted for the collection of the early theory of deposit, (about thirty-five years, during a single earner’s economic working life) would mean the coins were pulled from circulation about 1744 to 1779, which fails to jive with the sorts of coins we expect would have been around then. Most any longer period could work, if multiple generations are involved.

Suppose an influential French Acadian colonist who arrived in 1667 and was based near Fort Pentagoët about the time of the Flemish (Dutch) bombardment had amassed a fortune from the French Government, paid in large French Louises. Recall there were almost no French coins made for their colonies. At that time the French colonists were bartering furs or paying with playing cards. Genuine French crowns were something special, not likely to be spent lightly. Alternatively suppose a Frenchman with a fortune amassed in Paris steps off the boat in America in 1684 (the latest date of the French crowns), buries his money under a loose stone in Fort Pentagoët’s foundation for nightly safekeeping and dies of causes undetermined. French coin depicting young Louis XIV could not have actively circulated in metropolitan France beyond 1693 when old *louis d’argent* were repeatedly recalled and restamped with the more aged likeness of the maturing and increasingly debt-ridden Louis XIV.

Suppose a closed mouthed, English colonist forty years later walking over the ashes of the second fort burned in Dummer’s War discovers that loose rock and finds the cache of youthful Louis XIV French coin (showing no ill effects of the fire). Those old French crowns are hoarded



and joined by six pounds sterling in Massachusetts Bay Colony silver now a sizeable nest egg for a miser, *circa* 1725. At the end of life the old miser bequeaths his lot to a grown grandson who walks away to fight in the American Revolution. This supposed grandson adds a few odd Spanish colonial two-bit coins to his inheritance and then loses the whole shebang. We know what and where, and surmise when, but we may never be comfortable that we quite know who or much less the “why” of the Castine Hoard deposit. A single family continuously in possession of the silver would need to hand down the coins over four or five generations as well as change loyalties to maintain custody across the full span of the late deposit hypothesis. Current coins come and go but the an-

cestral family silver is held back for a rainy day, and if that day came in the late summer of 1779 when Castine erupted in violence, a century long, chain-of-custody still seems unlikely. While much more coinage was available in the mid-1700s making sums upwards of one hundred pound sterling in ready money more likely to be at hand, the late deposit scenario only really makes sense if at least the the French portion of the Castine Hoard resigned from daily commerce for a long while. Perhaps the French portion of the Castine Hoard has been lost and found more than once.

The overall monetary value of the Castine Hoard has been estimated at about one hundred pounds, sterling, in hard money, an amount being neither great wealth for a well-to-do family nor modest savings for an individual. The lack of English coins for late depositors is still explained the same way as for the early deposit, in that English coins were not very common in large quantity in America. During later savings times, we expect more domestic coins to be available which helps support the relatively large percentage of Massachusetts silver present in the hoard. The modern pillar dollars generally did not infiltrate above New York’s Hudson Valley until about 1760, late in the French and Indian War (Seven Years’ War), which is not inconsistent with the above scenario. The few 1760s coins present, including both genuine and counterfeit macaronic pieces seem consistent with coin types that would have circulated at the start of the American Revolution. Perhaps clear evidence of Revolutionary War-era origins of the Castine Hoard went to pot with about 97% of the hoard that was spent about Castine starting in 1842.

Dutch New Netherland (New York) settlers practiced a family tradition that lived on into the 19th century, whereby the first fruits earned by a young man on his first paying job, were collected by his parents in high denomination coin (usually gold) to be held in trust all the young man’s working life in order he be assured a proper Christian burial and not a pauper’s sendoff. Those special coins could not be spent for anything else so long as the parents were around to see to it. Often

a grandparent, who did well and did not need this hard money upon their death, would pass on their first fruits as a kind of sacred insurance to grandchildren still in the form of the original century old coins. There are many reasons why one might elect to collect and hold onto old coins that you the reader may further speculate upon.

More than One Hoard?

After Captain Grindle and his son raked and dug up the hillside for several months until they were fairly sure they had unearthed both mother lode and all strays, the good captain made no secret of his discovery, disclosing the hoard site to passing antiquarians. The news generally got out about treasure being found on the shores of the Bagaduce River. Neighbors, familiar with the tale, no doubt spent quiet afternoons digging about their own likely hiding sites, seeking another portion of treasure. They probably still do. Four hundred French *écus* may have been dug up at Frenchman's Bay, as referenced in "Money-digging in Maine" in the *American Journal of Numismatics* (Boston, October, 1871) vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 32-33 which itself quotes "Rambles in Mount Desert," by B. F. Decosta, New York, 1871, pp. 54-57. Little numismatic data on these coins are available. If several sub-hoards were buried in "post-hole banks" similar to the depositor of the Castine Hoard, then local rumors of more old coins found in the Maine woods, but this time kept quiet by finders working active sites, might eventually account for many more coins in the possession of the Maine Historical Society. Newly dug coins could be easily and erroneously associated with the original Castine Hoard some time prior to 1883 when the donated photo was taken. Perhaps they got mixed up in 1875 when Dr. Stevens trotted out his old coins to show Samuel Adams Drake who again made them famous in print. If another portion of the same hoard came to light, a split burial would lend support to the community of savers idea that caches of little sub-hoards are, or were, buried all about, perhaps out back of seasonal fur trading posts. Each saver would impart a bit of selective personality into what they amassed in their "keepers," that would enable fascinating comparisons between each sub-hoard should any more be documented.

Further Comparison Early Versus Late

Some additional facts about the Castine Hoard that seem indifferent to either the "early" or "late" theories of deposit include the overall hoard amount of 400 to 500 coins, worth about one hundred pounds sterling. The total weight of the hoard works out to about thirty pounds, avoirdupois, so that an individual could easily move it through the woods without assistance, although he would not want to go real far with it on his back. Backwoods travel in those parts would have been facilitated by canoe so that the proximity of the burial site to a good canoe landing may give us some idea that the coins could have traveled a long way by water before a short one-way uphill struggle by a single man. No lasting container was found with the coins indicating haste in burial. Most every type of container with the exception of a cloth or leather bag that fully decomposed would leave potshards, clasps, snaps, strap-ends or buckles behind. Lack of metal fasteners could indicate a Native American-made container. If a leather bag were used, silver coins directly in contact with organic leather, as it rotted away, might have retained a distinctive yellow/black mottled, tarnish, and would not have the bright appearance reported. Coins in long contact with cloth sometimes retain a semblance of the weave pattern in the tarnish. Any such toned or discolored coins were probably polished up by Mrs. Hannah Grindle before being spent or redeemed by Dr. Stevens so long ago.

The landing and burial site were carefully chosen, situated just beyond sight of anyone on the Castine side of the Bagaduce River, in such a way that lasting landmarks would guide the original depositor, or any proxy agent, back to the site, based on a quick verbal description. But the hoard was not retrieved, which does not bode well for anything but a quick death, or perhaps a slow

death among enemies of the depositor, who declined to speak about or draw a map to the treasure. No other non-coin goods, such as wampum, window glass, iron nails, lead, brass, or scrap metal, were reported as being dug with the hoard. No broken "plate" (defaced and crushed tableware) was found, being a sure sign of loot, with the first steps already taken before melting, to hide incriminating family crests or inscriptions. For an early burial, think of what the depositor would likely have had on hand that they chose to keep on carrying. If it was the household of the good Baron Castin fleeing America with his entourage, they decided to keep any gold, and every other kind of household item, rather than decent silver coin, which would buy a boatload of household goods, provided they made it to safety in France or wherever they intended to seek sanctuary. A bag of silver resting easy in the bottom of a canoe is not so taxing to the carrier that it would have to be jettisoned because it grew heavy, unlike overland portage.

For a late deposit, a few days after the Penobscot Expedition disbanded, we see what it was like for the locals, from a letter written by the Rev. John Murray, writing to Jeremiah Powell, esq., from Brunswick, Massachusetts Bay Colony, August 21, 1779:

Our case is very bad. Hundreds of families are now starving in the woods, their all left behind them, all will despair and the majority will quit the country and the rest will revolt if something vigorous be not done to protect them from the insolence of the triumphing foe who are carrying fire and desolation wherever they come. A large reinforcement of men, intrenching tools, cannon, ammunition and provisions is absolutely necessary to save us. Not a moment is to be lost. A very little delay will put us beyond remedy, but if we are immediately relieved this little disaster need not discourage us. It will, if we act with proper spirit, issue in our good. — Massachusetts Archives, Vol. CXLV, Page 140 — from *Colonel Jonathan Mitchell's Cumberland County Regiment – Bagaduce Expedition, 1779* — Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 27, 1898.

During the American Revolution, a family fleeing the British might be carrying food, weapons, household goods, livestock and practical items needed for immediate use. They might have been too poor to have decent household goods, but the fact that they chose to leave about a hundred pounds sterling in the woods, points strongly away from paupers to people of wealth with high hopes of returning someday to retrieve the coins. Since the British continued to hold Castine all through the war until ceded back after peace in 1783, an American in rebellion would have to wait a very long time before the coast was clear to return. In 1783 the tables turned and it was the British loyalists who fled Castine for Canada. If the owner did return a few years later, it seems unlikely they would fail to find the site, since the narrows, canoe landing, path, and rock all would have remained distinctive and unchanged. It also would be a simple matter of seconds to describe the site to a friend.

My treasure lies along the Bagaduce River, six miles above Fort George on the south shore. At a deep canoe landing near the Second Narrows along the path that leads from the landing toward Mt. Desert look west to the rocks about 25 yards in, and 50 feet above the water. Buried in a cleft of rock, the size of a hogshead, beneath a lone alder, you'll find my gift to you, one hundred pounds sterling in old silver.

Buried treasure is usually safest in, or near, your own backyard, where you can keep an eye on the spot and act to intervene should someone come sniffing around with a shovel in hand. The owner may have needed to conceal his wallet from pushy family members, or from those in his traveling party, who might be less than exemplary in their secret-keeping ability.

Upon British possession of Castine and the ensuing occupation and fortification of Fort George in early 1779, many townsfolk decided to flee. In theory, those poor private citizens of

Massachusetts must obey their British occupiers (when they were present) in military and civil matters under a temporary "government of paramount force." Private citizens legally would not be held liable for wrongdoing in acquiescing to perform civil acts ordered by the British military authority, even to the extent they broke the laws of the rightful government. In fact, if they remained loyal to the king, or claimed to be neutral, they were forced to sign an oath of fealty to Great Britain, which could be their death warrant if caught by overzealous rebels. Likewise it cost their liberty if the British garrison commander suspected them of aiding the rebels. Most in rebellion had already moved to join the American forces by the summer of 1779. Erstwhile loyalists would suddenly disappear into the woods at night, leaving their farms and houses to be plundered by the British who were desperate for building materials to reinforce Fort George, and to improve the soldiers barracks. Those suddenly in rebellion would need to sneak around the British picket posts and watchers and skirt the rear guard fleet anchored off Fort George then present by August 15, 1779. Small canoe traffic often went unimpeded, but was subject to search at the whim of the British military. Possessions of loyal British subjects were generally respected but coins found with a fleeing, former "neutral" might well be confiscated to keep it out of American rebel's hands, or more likely it would line the British liberator's pockets, according to the fortunes of war. The British also offered "incentives" to Native Americans to fight alongside John Bull. One hundred pounds sterling might be enough incentive to a band of Native Americans to secure their fealty to old King George III for a time. Those decreasingly few "neutrals" at Castine were eventually pressed into Loyalist workforces, some to dismantle houses that went suddenly vacant as building material for the barracks and breastworks at Fort George, as all abandoned property reverted to the crown. From a contemporary source:

Doctor Downing, Chief Surgeon of the army, with whom I had formerly been acquainted...arrived at my house on the morning of the fourteenth of August, with the sick and wounded Americans, and said the siege was raised, and the fleet and army of the Americans, between 3000 and 4000, were on their way up the river, followed by Sir George Collier, with the British fleet. The Doctor stopped, dressed the wounded, got some refreshments, and enquired where would be the best place of safety for the men under his care. I directed him to Major Treat's, about two miles above the navigation, where he landed and left them, under the care of Doctor Herberd, leaving with him his medicine chest. Before night, such of the shipping as were not taken or destroyed below, appeared, which were blown up and burnt the next morning, and the troops took their flight into the woods.

The next day I was again requested by the inhabitants to wait on General McLean to know our fate, which I did in company with Captain Ginn. We accordingly proceeded on that duty. At the Narrows, where the ship *Blonde* lay at anchor, we were hailed and went on board. The Captain being informed what our business was, gave us a pass, and we proceeded to the Peninsula. When I called on the General he received me very politely, and said, 'Mr. Brewer, you have come to see me again, what is the news up the river? And where are the rebels? Have they dispersed?' I told him they had. He replied: 'I believe the commanders were a pack of cowards or they would have taken me. I was in no situation to defend myself, I only meant to give them one or two guns, so as not to be called a coward, and then have struck my colors, which I stood for some time to do, as I did not wish to throw away the lives of my men for nothing.' He then said: 'What is your request?' I told him that the inhabitants were in distress, waiting to know his determination. If it be favorable, they will stay at home; if not, they will quit their houses and take to the wood, which some have already done. To which he made answer: 'Go home and tell them if they will stay in their houses and live peaceably and mind their business, they shall not be hurt; but if not, all the houses that are left shall be burnt.' My next request was to know what should be done with the sick and wounded men who had been left. He asked: 'What is your wish?' I replied that they might be conveyed to their friends, as soon as convenient. To which he said: 'Go up and get a vessel, if you can; if not, I will provide one.' I told him I had

one in view that I could get. 'Then get it,' he said; 'fit her out in good order, and take the sick and wounded on board; come down with them, and return me a list of their names, and I will give you a pass, or cartel, to deliver them where it will be most convenient for the men.' I told him there would be some stores wanted, that could not be procured up river. He replied: 'Get what you can, and make out a memorandum of what you want more, and I will supply you here.' I then returned home, and on the way chartered a schooner, shipped a master and hands, and the next day she came up the river, and went to Bangor, there to be fitted up with platforms and bunks convenient for the purpose.

In a few days Captain Moat (Mowett) came up the river, and anchored his ship off my cove. At night when I came down I was hailed, gave my name and told them I lived abreast his ship – which was communicated to Captain Moat. He returned, – that he wished me to call on him in the morning; which I did, and informed him what my orders were, from the General, in relation to the sick and wounded. He wished me to accomplish the business as soon as I could. He frequently called me on board when I was passing, and enquired after the sick and wounded, and often invited me into his cabin to take a glass of wine or brandy. This friendship subsisted till the schooner was completed, when he went up to see the same previous to her sailing. When in readiness I informed him the schooner would be down in the evening, and in the following morning he gave me a pass to General McLean.

On my way, at Marsh Bay, I heard of Captain George Ross and his cabin boy, and sent the boat on shore with Doctor Herberd, to bring off Captain Ross. He had commanded one of the 20-gun ships, and was wounded on the day he landed. He and the boy were brought on board, and I entered his name, George Ross, on my list, which he appeared to be very much pleased with. I made out a memorandum of what was wanted, which by his order, was furnished and put on board. He then gave me a pass for the schooner, as a cartel, to proceed to Boston, or other places where it would be most convenient for the men; and I then returned home late at night, much fatigued by the tour. Before I got home, Ichabod Colson, then of Marsh Bay, went up and informed Captain Moat that I had sent my boat on shore, and taken off Captain Ross and his cabin boy. Early in the morning, after my return, Moat sent his boat on shore, with a message for me to go on board his ship. I sent in reply that I was much fatigued, having been out most of the night, but that I would call on board in the afternoon. When I had gotten ready to go, I saw him land on the opposite point of land below my house; and I took my canoe and passed over to him. He saw me coming and walked towards me; we met a little distance from the shore, and were together about a quarter of an hour, and meeting was not very cordial. The first compliment I received was: 'You damned rebel, I understand that you stopped at Marsh Bay, and took on board Captain Ross, one of the finest officers there was in the Navy. I meant to have kept him and had two of my captains for him, he was such a fine fellow. Did you return him as a Captain?' 'No.' I returned him as George Ross.' Making use of the same opprobrious language, he added, 'Did you not know that I had not given you orders to take any man on board?' I answered, 'Yes.' Then said he, with his sword flourishing over my head, 'How dare you do it?' 'Because,' said I, 'I received my orders another way.' 'Which way?' said he. I answered: 'from General McLean, your Master.' It may well be supposed, from my answer, that I was somewhat agitated. He stepped back, and drawing his sword out of its scabbard, said: 'You d—d rebel! I have a good mind to run you through!' I opened my breast and told him 'there is your mark, do it if you dare! I am in your power!' He turned on his heel and stepped back a little, then turned and advanced, flourishing his sword with more passion than could well be expressed, said, 'before sunrise tomorrow morning, your buildings shall be laid in ashes.' I told him it was in his power to do it, but I asked him what he thought I should do in the meantime. Upon which he turned on his heel again and marched off to his boat, and I to mine. I came home and told Mrs. Brewer, what had passed, so that she might not be surprised if he proceeded to put his threat in execution – though I did not believe he would. I always kept a good musket well loaded, and intended to do what

lay in my power to defend myself. However, we did not have so good a night's rest as usual; but nothing further occurred, worthy of remark, till the next day about four o'clock P. M., - at which time I saw Captain Moat come on shore at my landing. I told Mrs. Brewer of it, and it put her in a panic. He walked along very moderately, till he got nearly up with my door, when I stepped out to meet him. He very politely asked me how I and my family did; I invited him to walk in, which he really did; and Mrs. Brewer was introduced to him, which took off most of her panic. He took a seat and opened most of the conversation by stating how much he regretted the situation of the inhabitants, and felt for their distress; and went into a very social conversation for two or three hours, and took coffee with us. He inquired into the situation with my family - how many children we had, and whether it would not be very difficult for me to support them without assistance. I told him I should try. He then said: 'If you think you cannot, I will supply you with such things as you want for your family, to the amount of 1000 pounds sterling, at the first cost at Halifax. If you make out a memorandum, I will send by the first vessel for them.' I thanked him for his good will, and we separated.

At all other times than the one above stated, both before and after, he appeared very friendly. Soon after his first arrival he called all hands on deck and in my presence, told them if they took one thing out of my garden, or field, they should be punished; and they strictly adhered to his orders during their whole stay. I supplied him with milk, garden vegetation, and pigeons, for his cabin - which he generously paid me for in money. Before he left this place he agreed with me for 200 pounds, to take down my brother's house, which was nearly as much as the building was worth. In the situation of things, I considered the house of very little value to my brother, especially as the enemy claimed the right of doing as they saw fit - and so indeed they did with others - and that it is as well to save something as to have the whole lost. He was to send up a vessel to carry the materials of which the house was composed, to the Fort. But soon after he left, some persons, in the night, took out all the windows and concealed them. Upon which I had to report what had taken place to general McLean - for that being the orders in all cases where there was a contract. I accordingly went down to the Fort and called upon the General, and was very civilly received. He said: 'Well, Mr. Brewer, you have called on me again. What is the news? And what is your request?' 'It is to report to you that I agreed with Captain Moat to take down a house for him, which he was to send a vessel for. But on a certain night, some persons unknown to me, took out all the windows, and have carried them off.' To which he replied: 'Well, man, you must get them again.' I told him I could not, for I knew not where they were, nor whom to suspect. He answered: 'Then man, you must stay here till you produce them.' I told him that would be impossible for me to do without having liberty to search for them. To which he replied, 'well man, I guess you know as well where they are as anybody! I will give you a week, or fortnight, to go home and get them, and if you don't bring them here within that time, I will put you under confinement.' I thanked him for his lenity, bid him good bye, and went directly home; but instead of making search for those windows, I hid my own, together with my other things, and packed up my beds and clothing - that I pretended to take with me - and made the best of my way out of his control.

Major George Ulmer, then having command at Camden, was up the river, at my house, with a large boat and a party of soldiers, getting what remained from the destruction of the vessels, &c. He offered his services to take my family with him to Camden, which then consisted of nine besides myself, which he with my small effects, safely landed at Camden. I collected about half of my stock of cattle, - one yoke of oxen, three cows, and my horse, - joined stock with Mr. John Crosby and others, making about thirty head in the whole, and laid our course through the woods, as direct as possible, for Camden, where we arrived in three or four days. Thence I took my family to the westward of Boston - where we remained till peace was restored, then I again returned with my family to my former residence in Penobscot. (The foregoing account was

contained in a letter from Colonel Brewer to David Perham, and was found among the papers of the latter at his decease.)

Letter from David Perham, giving Colonel Brewer's account of the expedition against Penobscot, in 1779, published in the *Bangor Whig and Courier* of August 13, 1846, and cited in George A. Wheeler's, *History of Castine, Penobscot and Brooksville, Maine*, published in 1875.

As coincidence would have it, Stephen Grindle, a sea captain by trade, was the sixth of ten children, whose father, Joshua Grindle, was taken prisoner by the British and held captive in Castine in 1779. Joshua lived on the western side of the Bagaduce River in North Brooksville, which was then part of Sedgwick. Many of his neighbors to the east and west sides of the river befell the same harsh treatment. Williamson recounts another coincidence stating that Mr. Johnson, the father-in-law, together with Captain Grindle, had owned the land where the treasure was found from at least 1780. Stephen Grindle's second wife, the former Miss Hannah Perkins, was present in 1841 to enjoy the largess, but Captain Grindle's first wife, Miss Betsy Johnson, may have provided the family tie to the "Mr. Johnson" who first owned the land. Betsy Johnson's father, Mr. Giles Johnson was born in 1742 at Penobscot, Hancock County. It seems likely that the second narrows of the Bagaduce River received the name "Johnson's Narrows" on account of Captain Grindle's in-laws, as did Grindle's Eddy from the Captain himself. Perhaps Captain Grindle had heard old treasure tales going back to the Revolution from his first wife, Betsy. The first of Captain Grindle's in-laws may have known about lost post-hole deposits somewhere on their farm. Betsy died in 1819 and Hannah Snowman married Stephen Grindle in 1821. Our late depositor, in failing to return, probably became a casualty, or was a prisoner of war (alongside Captain Grindle's father?) who failed to make parole; but it seems quite possible that Giles Johnson, on whose farm our depositor banked, may have known, or heard, or suspected a little something about treasure that Betsy could have overheard and passed on.

It was Samuel, Captain Grindle's son who found the first coin. He and his father dug about and found perhaps eighteen more old coins before dark, one autumn day in 1840. And then they did something a little bit odd. They left the treasure rest half a season more in the ground till spring, 1841. We must presume the ground was continuously frozen and snow covered preventing any further search until the spring thaw. Even more curious, is the lack of any expression of surprise, excitement, or avarice on the part of Captain Grindle. The captain's lack of expressions of surprise and delight on finding treasure as he retold the tale in 1841 to Dr. Stevens contradicts human nature when we experience surprise. Perhaps Captain Grindle suspected, or knew about the hoard, including its rightful owner all along, but when Samuel found one of the coins escaping its safe deposit, only then did the captain go along with the boy digging about. Samuel and his father had to keep the spot secret all that long winter. In the spring the captain, took along not just shovels, but a crowbar, which came in handy for prying loose from the rocky cleft the whole mass of coins for Samuel. Just what ports-of-call did the good captain make before the treasure discovery? Perhaps Captain Grindle knew even more, remembering some awful story from his father of blood money, ransom, or bribery during the war involving thirty pounds, avoirdupois, in untraceable silver, inflated up from thirty shekels, the wages for turncoat treachery. If the captain suspected that the money rightfully belonged to someone else, by letting Samuel find it, the captain, who was getting along in years, could allow it as a clean legacy for his second family. Finders keepers, after all. Perhaps it was the good captain who first spread those tales long ago of the saintly Baron Castin as a safe font of treasure for the boy's sake. Was it just another coincidence that the money was found on the captain's family land, making any claims of ownership by neighbors much harder to assert? With respect to the captain's integrity do we wonder, even just a little bit, that nothing but coins were reported found? What would be the temptation to leave out reporting the presence of inscribed jewelry, monogrammed silver,

personal items or even a container with recognizable seal or signet that might legally establish ownership to some other family under treasure trove, were such traceable objects present? If a neighbor buried the stash why not include some such token of ownership in the off chance an honest citizen should stumble onto the cache and turn it over to the local sheriff, some years hence.


One of the best ways to protect treasure sites and yet talk freely about their finding is to speak the exact truth in all particulars of discovery, save for the ultimate fact of where exactly the treasure was found. To facilitate keeping the secret, substitute another likely spot with some verbal tie to the right place, and practice telling your tale that way until you almost believe it yourself. For instance if you actually dug up a thing of value from Fort Pentagoët you simply substitute the current name of Fort George, which does not quite occupy the same bit of ground, or better yet say it was at Castin's Fort or Castine to let people dig up someone else's back yard for any residual treasure, safely away from where it really came from. This way you can be truthful, and yet careful to prevent others from beating you out of anything else that might have been overlooked in the first go round. Digging out all the scattered treasure from a spot usually takes many explorations, probes and excavations to be somewhat assured that no mother lode lay stashed a few feet nearby. A crafty sea captain would know all about how to manage his buried treasure. He would only need an honest witness to move the location away from the real spot. Salt a single coin on another nearby hill and dig it up before a witness. Behold, just this sort of tableau was performed in front of the loquacious Dr. Stevens in 1841. He later innocently remarked at how the original spot he had been taken to had been completely pockmarked and re-landscaped by treasure-seekers by 1859. Alas, Captain Grindle passed away in 1855 at Penobscot, Maine, before Williamson's account was published.



Figure 16: Treasure à la Castine undiscovered after one-third millennium may still await the next providence-kissed passerby, handy with a shovel and keen enough to withdraw from the bank of Mother Earth her long ago deposits with accrued historic interest.

Well dear reader, dead men may tell no tales but they rarely eschew mysteries. The time has come to decide if the hoard was buried early or late. In true *whodunit* fashion I would like to say that all the "clews" as young Ellery Queen would spell it, have been presented, or that the solution is elementary, or that the exciting answer will be published in CNL-129 so stay tuned, but I cannot. Would Dr. Stevens upon seeing or later learning of new coins among the old downplay them, favoring the hoard's antiquity, avoiding the dreadful Penobscot Expedition, and in his denial, fail to consider the plight of neutral families sud-

denly become newly-minted Americans in rebellion? Their story is as fascinating as that of the good Baron Castin, and not so politically incorrect after all. Why place the eighteenth coin of Castine, prominently out of line, at the last minute in the old photograph? Could you with a handful of treasure coins in hand deny going back immediately at dawn the next day, but rather wait out half a season before seeking a more bountiful harvest? Do you suppose another empty burial site exists, perhaps along the north shore slightly to the east of Grindle's Eddy, on the Bagaduce Peninsula just across the river but within sight of where Dr. Stevens and hence all those nosy neighbors were led to believe the treasure once lay? I can imagine the smile of a man experienced with the power of greed, from a sea-faring youth such as our good captain who later

turned farmer, as he watches his neighbors across the river toiling furtively to rake his own chosen land of brush, turn the soil, remove rocks and level it out nicely all the better to farm it after this treasure hubbub plays out. Social factors causing one treasure to be buried at a particular place and time, work equally well to encourage other depositors. Who else suddenly in rebellion did not return from war thereby forfeiting that last withdrawal? Undoubtedly other treasures still collect interest up in those old Maine woods, long ago deposits in the Castine branch of the bank of Mother Earth. 

P.S. If you should dig up an old coin and suspect skullduggery or find yourself sitting on a dead man's chest like Captain Grindle, please contact the editors of *CNL* for our collective numismatic opinion. Send photos. Anonymity will be respected as you wish.

Acknowledgements

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Maris Plate-I Photograph: Additional Observations

by

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(TN-194)

The differences between the Maris plates and their photographs were evaluated in-depth in a previous *The Colonial Newsletter* article.¹ The primary conclusion made concerning the Maris Plate-I from which Edward Maris, M.D. produced the heliotype print used in his classic and still authoritative monograph, *A Historical Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey*,² was that no physical plate actually exists, and perhaps never did.^{1,3} This is in distinction to the Maris Plate-II and Maris Plate-III for which actual zinc plates with electrotypes soldered to them physically exist.¹ However, there were a number of observations made in the previous *CNL* article which indicated more study of the Maris Plate-I photograph was in order.

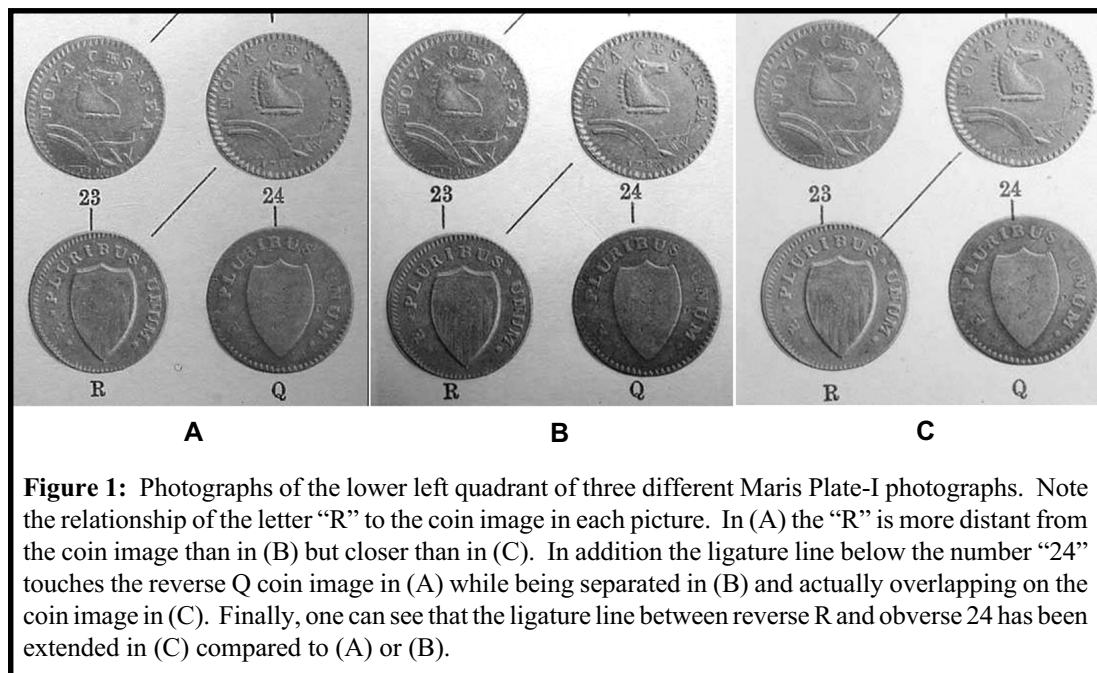
Variations are already known to exist between different, original Maris Plate-I photographs. In Dr. Maris's first announcement of the coming publication of his monograph in Fossard's *Numisma* in January 1881,⁴ he stated that 115 copies of the monograph would be printed. The cost of the monograph was to be \$3.50 for monographs with photographs printed on 75 lb. paper, and \$4.00 for monographs with photographs printed on 100 lb. paper. Therefore, two versions of the Maris Plate-I photograph exist based on the weight of paper upon which they were printed. The number of Maris Plate-I photographs produced is disputed.³ Though Dr. Maris indicated the printing of 115 copies in his first advertisement,⁴ a second advertisement in March of 1881 indicated that 120 copies were printed.⁵ William Anton, Jr. has indicated that only 35 copies were ordered from the printer and some 50 copies were delivered.⁶ No matter what the actual number produced, any Maris monograph which has survived into modern times with an original photographic plate remains a rare numismatic item. Due to their rarity and dispersion throughout the world, an evaluation of differences between the Maris Plate-I photographs has been limited in the past.

A more extensive evaluation and detailed examination of six original Maris Plate-I photographs owned by collectors from across the country⁷ has been enabled by this era of digital photography and instantaneous Internet connectivity. Based on a comparison of these photographs, the authors have reached some interesting conclusions about the production of the Maris Plate-I photograph. We propose that the production of the Maris-Plate-I photograph was actually a four-step process. Though the authors originally thought that they had made a completely new observation, we recently found reference to a two-step printing process noted by Edward R. Barnsley in his unpublished notebook number 2.⁸ A copy of this notebook has been donated to the C4 library by James C. Spilman and The Colonial Newsletter Foundation. Mr. Barnsley stated, "The lines on the plate [Author's note: he means Maris Plate-I photograph] showing these said combinations were drawn after the photographs were made, because in some cases they override the cuts... ." The authors will provide evidence that Mr. Barnsley's observation was, for the most part, correct.

First step in the heliotype print production

The first step by the printer was to take sheets of paper, which were 23 inches by 18.5 inches, and print a large gray rectangle in the center of the sheet, measuring 19 inches by 14.75 inches. The slightly darker area is seen on the outer border and serves as the containment area for the later placement of the coin images and the other devices. The distance between the edge of the sheet and the slightly darker central area is consistent on comparisons of different Maris Plate-I photographs. The reason the authors feel that this printing was done first, and not as part of the

Endnotes are on sequential page 2874.



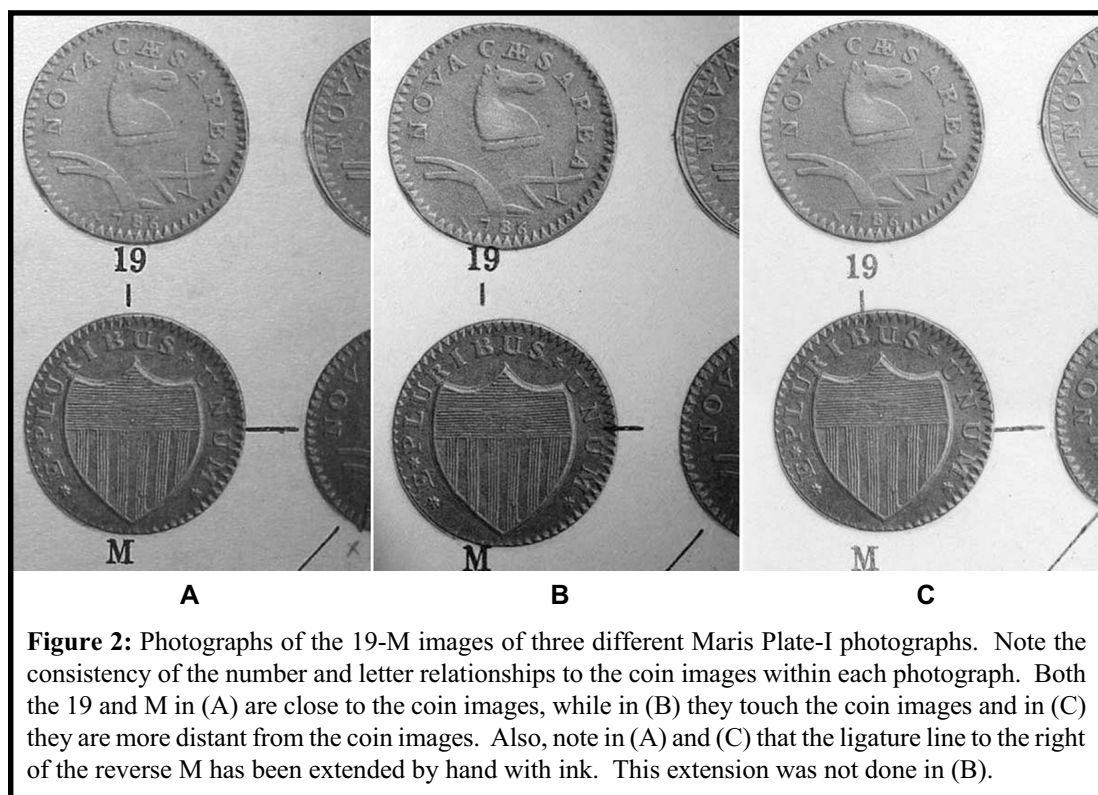
printing of the coin images or of the ligature lines/labeling, is that the relationship of the edge of the central gray area to both the coin images, and the ligature lines/labels, varies between photographs. The additional feature that is noticeable with this printing step is the placement in tiny letters, in the lower left corner just under the gray area, the label, "Phototype, F.Gutekunst, Philadelphia."

Second step in the heliotype print production

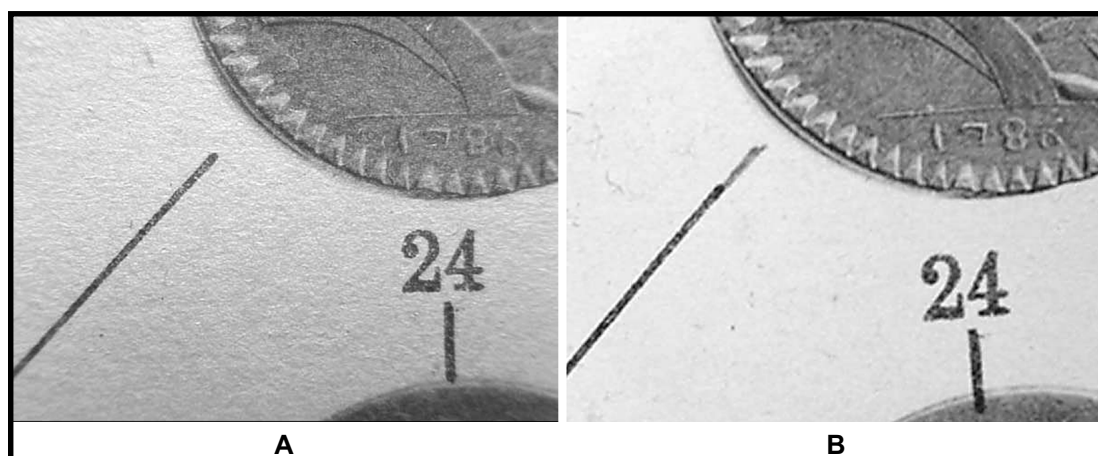
As previously mentioned, the actual plate from which the heliotype negative was produced is not known. The consensus among Maris students has been that this initial Maris Plate-I also had ligature lines and labeling present on the plate, as found on the Maris Plate-II and the Maris Plate-III. This assumption is incorrect. What can be said about the second step in developing the Maris Plate-I photograph was that a heliotype negative was made containing the images of the coins and nothing else. The second process in the printing sequence was the placement of the coin images on the sheet of paper within the gray area mentioned in step one. The sheets of paper must have been individually placed by hand for printing since each photograph is slightly different in the location of the coins in relationship to both the edge of the paper and to the edge of the gray area. However, there is a consistent relationship in the distances between different coin images, which argues for a single large negative having been used for all the coin images. Therefore, the second printing step was to produce a large heliotype print of coin images without ligature lines or labeling within a preprinted gray rectangle on a large sheet of paper.

Third step in the heliotype print production

The third step in making the Maris Plate-I photograph was a printing process for placing the ligature lines, as well as the lettering and numbering. The sheets of paper now containing the coin images were printed once again with the ligature lines, numbers and lettering. As with the printing of the coin images, this was not perfectly aligned and each Maris Plate-I photograph has a slightly different orientation of the ligature lines, letters and numbers in relationship to the coin images (see Figures 1 & 2). A printing plate of the ligature lines and labeling was used, rather than individual



placement of each line and symbol, since the distances between these lines and labels remain consistent from photograph to photograph, though their relations to the coin images differ. In other words, if the ligature lines, lettering and numbers are a little to the left, the leftward shift exists throughout the entire photograph. Similarly, rightward, upward and downward shifts in the entire set of ligature lines, numbers and letters are seen in different original Maris Plate-I photographs. The placement of the printed coin images and the printed ligature lines in every Maris Plate-I photograph is slightly different and therefore unique!!! Why didn't the photographs have the



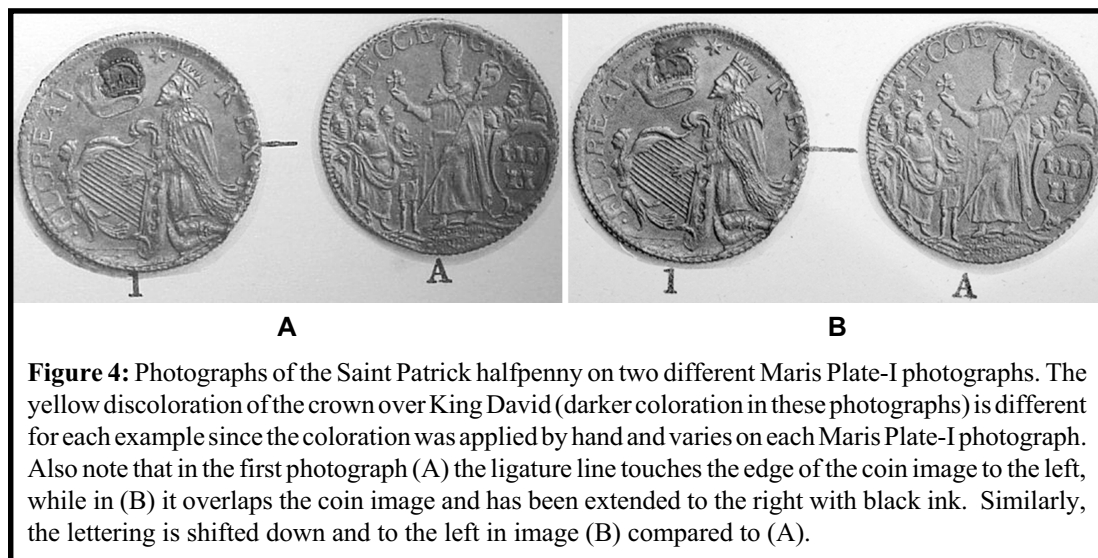


Figure 4: Photographs of the Saint Patrick halfpenny on two different Maris Plate-I photographs. The yellow discoloration of the crown over King David (darker coloration in these photographs) is different for each example since the coloration was applied by hand and varies on each Maris Plate-I photograph. Also note that in the first photograph (A) the ligature line touches the edge of the coin image to the left, while in (B) it overlaps the coin image and has been extended to the right with black ink. Similarly, the lettering is shifted down and to the left in image (B) compared to (A).

lettering, numbering and ligature lines placed before the placement of the coin images? This is answered by the observation that when a ligature line intersects a coin image, the ligature line overlaps the coin image rather than visa versa. This corresponds to the previously mentioned observation by Mr. Barnsley.⁸

Fourth step in the heliotype print production

After first printing the gray area, then secondly printing the coin images, followed by the addition of the lettering, numbering and ligature lines, the final phase of the photograph development was undertaken. The ligature lines placed in the third printing step were drawn short, possibly because the printer realized that there would be some misalignments inherent in this step of making the photograph. Because of this, someone had to view each photograph and evaluate the positioning of the ligature lines to the coins and when needed, extend the lines by hand with black ink. This extension of the ligature lines is different for each Maris Plate-I photograph (see Figure 3). It is probable that these extensions were hand drawn by the printer, but they might have been made by Dr. Maris himself, thereby making each original Maris Plate-I photograph an original production by the author.

The completion of the Maris Plate-I photograph was accomplished with the addition of yellow coloring to the crowns over King David on the obverses of the Saint Patrick farthing and halfpenny. Not all Maris Plate-I photographs have the added yellow coloration. It might be argued that acid treatment could affect the coloration, but acid treated Maris Plate-I photographs do exist which retain the yellow coloring. Of interest and previously observed,¹ the actual coins used to make the images of the Saint Patrick obverses on the Maris Plate-I photograph, do not have brass splashers on the crowns over King David. In any case, the yellow coloring used to represent brass splashers, are not the same in size or placement when comparing different Maris Plate-I photographs (see Figure 4). Therefore, the yellow color was applied by hand, perhaps by Dr. Maris, as the orders for his book trickled in. Since each was done by hand, this is also a feature that is unique for each Maris Plate-I photograph.

Maris Plate-I structure

The physical plate from which the Maris Plate-I photograph was produced has been previously described as a temporary "plate" made from a combination of coins, electrotypes and perhaps

photographs. The plate was thought to have been dispersed immediately after the photograph was taken.¹ However, from our study of the original Maris Plate-I photographs, the authors now offer the alternative hypothesis that no plate of any sort existed in the making of the Maris Plate-I photograph. Rather, the large heliotype printing plate used in making the Maris Plate-I photograph was produced by combining 140 negatives obtained from each of the coin or electrotype images which appear in the photographic plate. Though no conclusive evidence for this hypothesis exists, there is substantial indirect evidence to support this conclusion. First, it is known that the obverse and reverse of the same coin appear in the Maris photograph. If a plate was produced, the only way this could have occurred was with the use of an electrotype or a photograph of one side of the coin, in combination with the actual other side of the coin. Alternatively, using negatives of each side of the coin, as the authors now propose, would explain how this could have been accomplished. Secondly, the photographic technology available in the 1880s would not have supported the production of a single large photograph the size of Dr. Maris's work, especially with the excellent detail found in each coin image throughout the photograph. If such a photograph of coins spread out on a single plate were attempted, one would also expect to see consistency in the shadowing around, and within, each coin image. What is found is inconsistent shadowing around the coins. In the case of the Saint Patrick farthing and halfpenny images, as well as the reverse J and obverses 26 and 28, there is a "halo" entirely around the coin, while many other coin images have partial halos or no halo at all. This inconsistency in shadowing around the coin images may well be a reflection of differences in the trimming of negatives used to make the large heliotype negative and cannot be explained by use of lighting on an actual plate. In addition, the coloration of each coin varies, with some images being darker than others. If a photograph of an actual plate were performed, one would expect all the coin images to be similarly illuminated. Since this is not the case, added evidence is provided for a separate photograph of each coin. Finally, in the case of photographs taken of the Maris Plate-II and Maris Plate-III, imperfections of the zinc plate between the electrotypes are very evident. No such imperfections are present in the Maris-Plate-I photograph and each coin image seems to be an individual photograph. Again, this serves as indirect evidence for no actual Maris Plate-I having been used. No information concerning the method used to produce the Maris Plate-I photograph is known to have survived into modern times. However, circumstantial evidence dictates the very real possibility that no Maris Plate-I ever existed and the Maris Plate-I photograph was produced using the heliotype printing process made from individual negatives for each of the 140 coin images.

Conclusion

The Maris Plate-I photograph was made in a four-step process. The first step was the printing of a gray rectangle in the center of a large sheet of paper. The second step was the placement of the coin images on the sheet of paper within the gray rectangle. The third step was the printing of a set of ligature lines, letters and numbers. The position of the coin images and ligature lines is slightly different in each photograph based on the second and third printing not being performed precisely the same. The fourth step was the lengthening by hand of some of the ligature lines with an ink pen, as well as the addition of yellow coloration to the crowns of the Saint Patrick obverses in some photographs. Since only a small number of the original Maris Plate-I photographs have been inspected by the authors, there may well exist Maris Plate-I photographs which do not have the ligature lines extended by hand. Perhaps this step was only undertaken by Dr. Maris when he had an actual buyer for his monograph.

Acknowledgements

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Somers Islands Hogge Money: Rediscovery!

by

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Introduction

Hogge Money of Somers Islands began its slow re-emergence during the eighteenth century after almost 200 years of absence from the numismatic limelight. The facts surrounding its rediscovery are almost as shadowy as the origins of these beguiling tokens. Exactly when and where the first specimens were rediscovered may never be known. There are precious few historical references that tell us of Hogge Money's existence during the early days of the Somers Islands colony. A comparably scant number of vague and frustratingly incomplete documents dot a timeline with tantalizing clues about their rediscovery and acceptance within eighteenth century numismatics. But even carefully examining these documents leaves one unsatisfied and wanting more knowledge!

One gets the distinct impression that events surrounding the rediscovery were subordinated in importance to the specimens themselves. Thus, the report of a new specimen or denomination and the documentation of its physical attributes became vastly more important than the details surrounding its discovery *in situ*. Over time, numismatists have come to appreciate that discovery context information has the potential to yield valuable insights into the coins or tokens in question. In the case of Hogge Money, added knowledge about the discovery context could have even helped to explain the tokens' abrupt disappearance from circulation. This incomplete attention to detail only served to deepen the mysteries surrounding this intriguing mercantile tokens from Bermuda's earliest days of colonization.

Literary Sources

The documentation that chronicles the painfully slow re-emergence of Hogge Money after more than 150 years of neglect is paltry. The sum total of documents, listed in their order of importance and value as a source of information, includes:

- J. H. Lefroy, "The Hog Money of the Somer Islands," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, New series, vol. 16 (1876), pp. 153-57.
- J. H. Lefroy, "On a New Piece of Hog Money of the Value of Twopence Exhibited 15 Nov 1877," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, New series, vol. 18 (1878), pp. 166-68.
- J. H. Lefroy, "On a New Piece of Bermuda Hog-Money of the Current Value of III d," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Third series, vol. 3 (1883), pp. 117-18.
- J. H. Lefroy, *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands: 1515-1685* (1st ed., 1877, and 2nd ed. 1883).
- Sylvester S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America* (Boston, 1875).
- Walter Breen, *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* (New York, 1988).
- E. Radovan Bell Collection, Bank of Bermuda (1981).
- Thomas Snelling, *Views of the coins struck by English Princes in France, Counterfeit Sterlings, Coins Struck by the East India Company, Those in the West India Colonies, And in the Isle of Man* (London, 1769).
- Malcolm E. Williams et al., *Coins of Bermuda* (Hamilton, Bermuda, 1997).

Of these sources, none are truly primary references – all are at least second-hand sources of information. One could argue that Lefroy's works, however, are the most authoritative, as they form the basis for virtually all subsequent documentation on this topic. Crosby's and Breen's contributions are clearly secondary in nature with respect to discovery tales and far from authoritative. In fact, Breen in his *Complete Encyclopedia of US Coins* goes so far as to conclude his coverage of Hogge Money by stating:

The above account derives mostly from Crosby {1875}, Lefroy {1876, 1877, 1878, and 1883} and Bank of Bermuda {1981}.

Although Breen failed to explicitly identify the Lefroy documents he used as references, there can be little doubt that he was referring to the three articles published in *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1876, 1877, and 1878 respectively) as well as *Memorials* (1883). Breen therefore reinforces Lefroy's research as being authoritative, if not primary with respect to documenting the re-emergence of Hogge Money.

The Williams book relies extensively on several of the other source documents in the preceding list. Despite the apparent research behind this book as evidenced by its copious citations of references, its text is remarkably inconsistent with those references. In fairness, this book appears to have been composed as a souvenir picture book for tourists rather than a serious work of numismatic research. It does nothing to clarify the emergence of these coins and, by virtue of misinterpreting other sources, only serves to add confusion rather than contribute clarity to the topic. I have included it in this article to demonstrate the potential for inconsistency between a document and the source documents it references.

Numerous other documents exist that describe Hogge Money, its history, socioeconomic context, and die varieties. These, however, are the only ones that attempt to record the earliest discoveries of Hogge Money specimens. Thus, we will limit our exploration of the re-emergence of Hogge Money to this small set of nine references.

As we peruse these sources together, you will notice a delightful dichotomy. The rediscovery of Hogge Money is a pair of parallel journeys from obscurity to acceptance. These simultaneous journeys were embarked upon by two camps: American numismatists and Bermudian collectors. Their experiences, and their treatment of Hogge Money specimens, could not be more different.

The First Three Pieces, According to a Yank!

Crosby, in his landmark 1875 text *The Early Coins of America*, revealed that remarkably little was known about these specimens. Although it seems curious today, Crosby tells us that Hogge Money had only recently (relative to the 1875 publication date) been accepted as a monetary device. That acceptance by the numismatic community came about only as a result of the discovery of a second denomination – the sixpence. To quote:¹

These coins have been considered as medals, struck in commemoration of some event of interest relating to these islands; but the recent discovery of a similar coin, of half the size and value of those before known, sets at rest all speculation upon that point, and is sufficient, even in the absence of Capt. Smith's assertion that they were "money," to prove that they were intended to serve the purposes of coin, even though they may have been issued without the authority requisite to legalize their currency, and thus entitle them to be denominated coins.

¹ Crosby, p. 16.

Crosby's tidbit helps us to better understand the struggle of numismatists to comprehend this metallic artifact of Bermuda's colonial history. Although today numismatists readily accept them as the first coinage² made explicitly for use in North America, there was great debate during the first half of the nineteenth century as to the actual purpose of these curious pieces. It was generally accepted that they were old, and self-evidently dated back to the seventeenth century, (*circa*, 1612 - 84) when Bermuda was the land patent of the Somers Islands Company. No one seemed to agree on what the specimens were, or why they were made. A greater mystery lay in their almost complete disappearance. The first issue, Crosby tells us, was finally put to rest with the discovery of a sixpence during the 1850s. Apparently, this controversy about the origin and purpose of Hogge Money compelled Crosby to add credibility by attempting to focus on details of each specimen's rediscovery. Even with this focus, the details about how Hogge Money was wrestled back from its ignominious anonymity remained sparse in Crosby's text.

At the time of publication, Crosby was only able to trace the current ownership of three extant specimens of Hogge Money: two shillings and one sixpence. According to Crosby, the "discovery" piece was a shilling, although he was unable to offer any additional facts about when, where, or even who discovered it. Crosby was kind enough to record that, in 1875, the original discovery specimen resided in the collection of William S. Appleton, Esq., of Boston, Massachusetts. That is, the first specimen known to, and accepted by, American numismatists resided in Appleton's collection. Unfortunately, Crosby offers no other information about the specimen's history prior to Appleton.

The second shilling happened to be in Crosby's own collection. This one comes with a slightly better documented pedigree. In his words:

The latter piece was found, a few years since, in a bag of old coppers considered as of very little value, and bought, without knowledge of its rarity, by a junk dealer in New York; but, being discovered by a collector, was quickly rescued from its obscurity, and has now found its way to its present resting-place.

That single run-on sentence is all that is preserved of the tale of this shilling's discovery. It is remarkable for many reasons, not the least of which is that it stands in stark contrast to Crosby's usual verbosity. His book is a landmark work to this day because of its breadth and depth. He covers topics completely, including as many aspects of the history and use of each issue. So, limiting his discourse to a single sentence is quite revealing; Crosby was compelled to lend legitimacy to a controversial artifact but he did not have much information to work with!

Fortunately for numismatists, the "resting-place" of this second shilling specimen was Crosby's personal coin cabinet. Had it ended up in someone else's collection, we would not even have this pithy account of its rediscovery. Crosby's phrase, "a few years since" is frustratingly imprecise and leaves numismatists to wonder how many years he enjoyed owning the shilling prior to writing about it in his 1875 text. We can infer that the coin was saved from obscurity and/or the melting pot because it accidentally caught someone's fancy. But, important questions remain unanswered or ambiguous in Crosby's work. Thus, the following salient questions remain:

² Although Hogge Money was originally accepted by the numismatic community as "money," consensus was building that they were really just mercantile tokens.

- Who saved it?
- Exactly when it was found?
- Was the token found in New York, or was it merely bought by a junk dealer who lived and worked in New York?
- How did it get to New York in the first place?
- How many times did it change hands after its rescue from the bag of old coppers before becoming Crosby's prize?

The answers to these and many other questions remain forever incarcerated in the shadowy realms of conjecture, myth and speculation. A better documented pedigree of even a single specimen could help us more accurately interpret what happened to Hogge Money after it ceased circulating in the Somers Islands.

Crosby's economy with words starts to resemble verbosity of Tolstoyan proportion when one examines other data sources. Walter Breen, for example, tantalizes readers with a single sentence fragment:³

Discovered by Thomas Hollis before 1769.

This statement describes a Small Sails variety shilling and suggests that Thomas Hollis found the token rather than purchased it. Unfortunately, Breen does not provide any other details about the shilling's discovery. Important details such as where it was found, how it was found, how he was able to attribute it as a Small Sails specimen, and who found it, are left to the imagination. Worse, Breen remained frustratingly constant in his habit of not citing any specific sources for this information, thus, it is difficult to confirm its veracity.

In the absence of specific references, one's only recourse is to corroborate this claim by examining the paltry collection of other authoritative references. E. Radovan Bell, in the 1981 Bank of Bermuda booklet says:

... according to LeFroy and others, the specimen of the Shilling in the collection of Thomas Hollis in the 1760's, ... was thought to be unique.

One interesting implication embedded within that fragment of a sentence is that long before Crosby, Bermudians were aware of Hogge Money as a cultural icon, and had accepted a single specimen as both authentic and unique despite a complete lack of evidence on which to found their beliefs! That is a leap of faith that would make any numismatist go weak at the knees!

Although this passage also appears at first glance to corroborate Breen's claim, it only states that Thomas Hollis owned the token during the 1760s. This document fails to explicitly identify Hollis as the discoverer. The date and circumstance of discovery, too, remain unknown. Worse, the document appears to try to lend legitimacy to its claim by vaguely referencing that "LeFroy and others" believed this to be true. Rather than depend upon local folklore and hearsay, all that we can accept as being truly in common between these two sources is that Hogge Money lay in anonymity for approximately 150 years before being rediscovered, and that Thomas Hollis was probably the first prominent owner of this token.

³ Breen's *Complete Encyclopedia of US Coins*, p. 10.

Hollis is a well-known Bermudian family name even today, and is frequently encountered in eighteenth century Bermudian genealogical records. While I have yet to find a *Thomas Hollis* specifically referenced in the late eighteenth century, Breen's story seems plausible despite his failure to supply a specific source citation that supports this datum. The fact that Bell would make virtually the same claim in his booklet suggests that Breen was one of the "others" that was used as a source.

Both Bell and Breen seem to have relied upon a common, unnamed source for their statements. The common reference to "before 1769" provides a crucial clue in establishing their source. In London during 1769, Thomas Snelling published a work under the rather ungainly title of *Views of the coins struck by English Princes in France, Counterfeit Sterlings, Coins Struck by the East India Company, Those in the West India Colonies, And in the Isle of Man*. On page 35 of that esoteric document, Snelling discusses the mythical Hogge Money of Sommers Islands in the following passage:

We now come to those coins we have been to discover, that have been struck in our West Indies.

The first of these, in order of time, appertains to the Sommer or Summer Islands, which received this name from Sir George Sommers who was shipwrecked there, anno 1609. A colony was endeavoured to be settled there under the Virginia Company in 1612. Mr. John More being sent for that purpose: he was succeeded by Capt. Daniel Tucker, in whose time it was one piece, No. 19 had a currency, as we are informed by Capt. Smith (b). His words are these, "besides meat and drink, and cloaths, they had for a time a certain kind of brass money, with a Hogge on one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges which were found at their first landing." Over the Hog on No. 19 is XII, the signification of which we do not know. It has on its reverse a Ship. We have never seen other than this single piece, which is in the collection of Mr. Hollis.

Snelling's treatment of this topic is noteworthy for several reasons. First, despite having seen just one specimen, he is willing to accept it as being the lost Hogge Money of Sommers Islands. More astounding is that he failed to recognize the XII above the hog as a denomination. Perhaps if it were made of silver he would have made the connection more readily. Lastly, Snelling gives no first name for Mr. Hollis, preferring to identify him formally by title and surname. Thus, one is left to wonder where Breen and Bell got their information about Mr. Hollis's first name! Yet repetition throughout the years in numismatic literature has gifted Mr. Hollis with the enduring first name of Thomas.

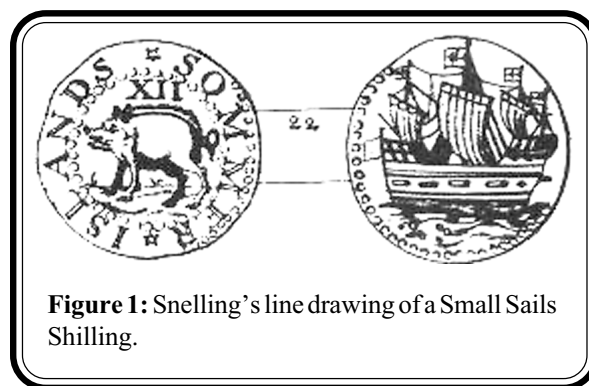


Figure 1: Snelling's line drawing of a Small Sails Shilling.

The most salient piece of information presented by Snelling is that, with the benefit of hindsight, it is possible to confirm that 1769 marks the official re-introduction of Hogge Money to the numismatic world. The piece he inspected and illustrated in Figure 22 (he repeatedly claims it to be Figure 19) appears to be an authentic Small Sails Hogge Money shilling. Snelling's line drawing of this specimen is illustrated in Figure 1.

Whether or not the specimen depicted in Snelling's publication was included in Crosby's census cannot be known. Crosby, usually meticulous in his attention to detail, commits a stunning self-contradiction when attempting to explain the rarity of Hogge Money shillings. On page 16, he declares:

Three of the Shillings and one Sixpence are all now known to the numismatic world of the coinage struck for the “Sommer Islands ;” and no records exist for our instruction as to its precise date, by whom coined, or the circumstances under which it was issued or obtained a currency.

Just a couple of paragraphs later on page 17 in a paragraph describing shillings, Crosby contradicts his own count of known specimens by declaring:

But two of these pieces are known to us, one of which is in the collection of William S. Appleton, Esq., of Boston, and the other recently has come into the possession of the writer.

Mr. Crosby is no longer available for consultation, so we may never know the true source of this discrepancy in his count of known shillings. We know he has first-hand knowledge of two shillings and a sixpence. It seems plausible that if Crosby knew of the Hollis specimen but could not trace its current owner or status, he would have said so. Given the state of communications technology in 1875, and the 106 years and 3,000 or so miles intervening Snelling and Crosby’s research, one has to wonder if Crosby even knew of Snelling and the Hollis shilling. Unfortunately, Crosby cites no references nor offers any additional insight into that mysterious “third” shilling of page 16.

The logistical challenges of communicating across long distances in the nineteenth century had a direct bearing on the efficacy with which numismatic research of that era could be conducted that cannot be understated. As I will demonstrate toward the end of this paper, the implications are more than just theoretical; they form a cultural barrier that compartmentalized knowledge and directly hindered research. Many of the works we consider authoritative today, including Crosby’s, must be regarded skeptically as just representative of the knowledge base in North America rather than indicative of a global base of knowledge.

To truly understand Hogge Money’s re-emergence requires transcending the boundaries of North American literature and reference materials. Today, we almost take global reach for granted and that can result in further propagation of a cultural bias that we have recently outlived if we fail to recognize such biases. For now, let us explore the mystery of Crosby’s self-contradiction.

Given the lack of any additional clues, it is impossible to pedigree the first two shillings or the sixpence described by Crosby. All that we can know with certainty is that Crosby knew of just two shillings and one sixpence. It is possible that Crosby’s reference to a third shilling was just a mistake. It is also possible that Hollis’ specimen journeyed to America and became Appleton’s specimen almost a century later. It seems less likely that Hollis’s specimen and Crosby’s specimen was the same specimen. For that to have happened implies the token ceased being recognized as a numismatic rarity and was sold as scrap metal and, oh by the way, traveled to New York in the process! Yet, a century is a long time so it is possible that, with the passage of enough time, one man’s treasure can become another man’s trash before finally becoming Crosby’s prized possession.

Other references do not provide any additional insight into this little mystery. Williams’s book, for example, only adds additional confusion. On page 45, he claims that Appleton’s specimen and Crosby’s specimen were probably one and the same rather than two separate specimens. Crosby’s text (quoted above) indicates otherwise. Thus, the question unanswered is: did Hollis’ specimen journey to North America and find its way into the hands of either Appleton or Crosby? Only by answering that question can we resolve which of Crosby’s two claim shilling counts was correct!

Curiously, Breen credits Lorin G. Parmelee with discovering the first Large Sails shilling sometime between 1875 and 1890. In his words:

Discovered by Lorin G. Parmelee, 1875-90.

Breen's wording is virtually identical to the preceding quotation crediting Mr. Hollis with discovering the Small Sails shilling. In retrospect, it seems much more probable that Mr. Parmelee was not the original finder of the shilling as much as he was the person who first identified this die variety. This, of course, calls into question what Breen meant by the term, *discovered*, with respect to Mr. Hollis' role in identifying and publicizing his discovery. If we interpret the word, *discovered*, as meaning *numismatic identification*, then it is possible to reconcile Breen's account of the Hollis specimen's origins with that put forth by the Bank of Bermuda.

A Sixpence: Proof of Monetary Purpose!

Given that the first two or three pieces rediscovered (according to Crosby) were shillings, conventional wisdom held that they were probably medals rather than coins. In theory, a monetary system could not function well with just a single denomination, especially a shilling. Commercial transactions would surely require multiple denominations for use in making change. Thus, the discovery of another piece of Hogge Money in a different denomination proved that the original intent of the specimens was a circulating currency.

Crosby elucidates about the first non-shilling specimen discovered:⁴

The only known specimen of the Sixpence was found, some twenty years since, in a garden upon one of the Bermuda Islands, (the island of St. George, if we mistake not,) and is now owned by Benjamin Betts, Esq. of Brooklyn, N. Y., through whose kindness our illustration of it is obtained.

There are several noteworthy facts embedded in Crosby's rambling sentence. First, he gives a rough time frame for the discovery of the piece as "some twenty years since." That would place the sixpence's discovery *circa* 1855. More importantly, we already know that the first two or three specimens discovered were shillings. More precisely, we know that the first two or three specimens known *numismatically* were shillings. Thus, the Hollis, Appleton, and Crosby specimens would all have been found prior to 1855. That suggests Crosby either owned his shilling for almost a quarter of a century, or that it had been trading hands for some portion of that time before coming to rest in his collection.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Crosby's account of the first sixpence is that for the first time we have a description of the circumstances surrounding the discovery of a particular token: it was found in a garden in St. George's. The purported discovery location is simultaneously logical and plausible: that was Bermuda's first town, and site of the company's store where these tokens would have been redeemed for supplies from the Magazine. Thus, the Hogge Money would definitely have circulated there. Lastly, he identifies the owner in 1875 as Benjamin Betts of Brooklyn, NY.

This last fact serves to point out the extent to which confusion and misinformation surrounded these coins. Comparing Crosby's text to *Coins of Bermuda*,⁵ we see that Williams claims that the first sixpence was discovered on the island of St. George by Benjamin Betts! Given that this book

⁴ *The Early Coins of America*, p. 18.

⁵ p. 46.

cites Crosby's work as a reference it is likely that the author of *Coins of Bermuda* misinterpreted Crosby's statements. Else, we must accept that Williams was privy to additional and unreferenced information that proved a New York lawyer and numismatist was digging in a St. George's garden and serendipitously found the token!

Further muddling the issue of provenance came courtesy of Crosby's photographic plate. Crosby includes a picture of both the obverse and reverse of Betts's sixpence at the top of Photographic Plate I in his book. The sixpence shown is in a pleasant circulated condition with smoothly worn surfaces and absolutely no evidence of pitting, corrosion, or other environmental damage that one would expect to find on a copper coin that was buried in a humid environment for 130+ years! The physical state of preservation of the token in the photographs simply does not correlate with the story of its having been dug up in a garden in St. George's.

The inconsistency of the physical evidence vis-à-vis the historical record casts lingering doubts. Either the token depicted on Plate I is not the one dug up in the St. George's garden – which would indicate that there were actually two Somers Islands sixpences known to exist in 1875 – or the story about the circumstances of its discovery is untruthful in part or in total. It is difficult to conceive of circumstances in which Crosby would deceive his readers about the existence of a second sixpence. Alternately, since the photographs in this book were made of electrotypes rather than the coins themselves, it is possible that the electrotyping process smoothed out the environmental damage.

Similarly, it is difficult to understand why someone would lie about the discovery context. Snelling, a British numismatist, embraced the first known shilling without any provenance. Given that ready acceptance, it is difficult to believe a sixpence would require a "convincing" discovery story to gain acceptance. It is, of course, entirely possible that the token pictured is the one actually unearthed in the St. George's garden. The lack of environmental damage could be just the good fortune of the token coming to rest in a sandy patch of soil that drained well but Bermuda is surrounded by an ocean, so sandy soil would also be salty which would be very damaging to copper. Not knowing more details regarding the discovery (such as knowing in whose garden the token was found), it is not possible to know for sure if this was the case. However, a comparison of the Betts sixpence against other Hogge Money tokens known to have been excavated in Bermuda⁶ reveals how wonderfully preserved it is. This comparison further reinforces the implausibility of its having been excavated from a garden.

Perhaps the key to cutting through the confusion is to reflect on Crosby's words about the lack of consensus that existed regarding the first two shillings. It was only the discovery of a second denomination – the sixpence – that finally put to rest any debate or speculation as to the original purpose of Hogge Money. The first two shillings were accepted by American numismatists as interesting artifacts of unknown purpose from Bermuda's colonial days. As such, they could be accepted with the flimsiest of histories. It was enough to demonstrate that they existed but the fact of their existence paved the way for a vigorous debate as to why.

However, one must conclude that the sixpence was held to a higher standard simply because it proved Hogge Money to be intended as a monetary vehicle. If it were another shilling, the controversy would have raged on, unabated. Thus, the sixpence required a convincing discovery story and context that would put to rest any question regarding its authenticity. That token needed to be correlated in time and place with the shillings and Bermuda's early colonial activity.

⁶ Williams, pp. 39-55, documents the archaeological expedition that recovered 19 specimens of Hogge Money from Castle Island in Bermuda. The photographs reveal typical ground corrosion damage.

Consequently, an innocuous story could have been fabricated that would lend the token validity and credibility by connecting it with the oldest inhabited part of Bermuda that was also, not coincidentally, where the Somers Islands Company sited their store. The story successfully walked the fine line between credibility and provenance; it contained enough details to be believable, but not so much detail that it could be researched and refuted. This is, of course, conjecture but the theory is more plausible than the accepted discovery story.

Discovery of a Twopence

The very first twopence was discovered in 1877 and the circumstances of the discovery appear to have been immediately and relatively well documented. Much like the sixpence, the twopence required a higher standard of evidence before it could be accepted by the numismatic community as genuine simply because it was the first of its kind.

According to Breen writing in 1988,⁷ a child discovered the first twopence in 1877, which apparently washed up on a South Shore beach near Port Royal, Bermuda, where the child picked it up. This story has since been accepted and repeated in virtually every other book and article on this subject, including Lefroy, Crosby and Williams. The 1981 Bank of Bermuda booklet adds a bit more detail by stating it was found “by a young boy at a beach, on the South Shore at Port Royal.” Despite the emotional appeal of the story, the details of this discovery scenario smack of romanticism and its veracity is highly doubtful.

Breen, Crosby, and Lefroy all overlook the improbability of a paper-thin copper disk surviving 250+ years in warm salt water or salt-water beach, much less remaining identifiable. Thus, the discovery story is both highly suspicious and implausible. Further doubt is cast on this story when one considers that no other details have survived that would validate this story. We do not know the child’s name, age, or anything else. It is more plausible that – if a child did, indeed, discover this first known twopence – the child discovered the coin somewhere he should not have been. Thus, an innocuous and appealing story was concocted to conceal the true place of discovery and to keep from getting into trouble! Alternately, there may well have been no child and an unscrupled adult resorted to fiction as a means of legitimizing his possession of the token. Either way, the trend continues unabated: a new denomination requires a good story before it could be accepted as genuine.

Lefroy also tells us that a second twopence specimen was discovered in 1882. Lefroy wrote an article on the discovery of a threepence specimen (the first of its kind) in *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Third Series, Volume III, published in 1883. I will be polite and call Lefroy’s contribution an article despite its incredible brevity of just 313 words. Of this sum, a whopping half-sentence was dedicated to conveying to the readers of the Royal Numismatic Society that a second twopence specimen was discovered. To quote Lefroy:

These pieces were not known to Ruding, and have always been extremely scarce; pieces of *xiid.*, *vid.*, and *iid.* have been described and figured – the last from a specimen found in 1877, and at the time unique, but another was found last year at St. George’s.

From this brief passage, we know that a second twopence was found in St. George’s in 1882, but have no idea who discovered it, where it was discovered, what condition it was in, or anything else.

⁷ p. 11; Williams *et al.*, *Coins of Bermuda*, p. 60.

Both sources provide, essentially, the same details. Williams cites Breen as a general reference book for his work. Breen does not cite a reference but undoubtedly leans on Lefroy’s documentation of this find in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, Volume 18, p. 166.

Governor Sir J. H. Lefroy takes care to point out that this is not the first specimen of this denomination discovered but he did not waste additional words by describing any physical attributes of that newly found specimen. Although that might seem odd relative to the “careful” documenting of the discovery of the first twopence, it is quite consistent with the broader trend. After all, this was not the discovery piece for that denomination. The first twopence had paved the way for acceptance within the numismatic community, so any subsequently discovered specimens would not require any explanation as to how or where they were found.

Correlating this work to Lefroy’s more famous document, his two-volume *Memorials of Bermuda*, one finds a reference buried in the appendices at the end of Volume II on page 587. Lefroy offers a sketch of the twopence presented in *The Numismatic Chronicle* as well as a paragraph explaining the discovery of this important and rare new denomination. This passage states:

The absence of any allusion to the currency of the plantation in the preceding letter confirms the opinion expressed in vol i., that the hog money never had any extensive circulation. Having, however, given cuts of the only types hitherto known, the editor is now enabled, by the kindness of the editor of ‘The Numismatic Chronicle,’ to subjoin one of a new type, having the current value of 2d, lately found.

In this bizarre reference, Lefroy credits the editor of *The Numismatic Chronicle* for identifying and publicizing the first Hogge Money twopence without mentioning that he had written that article himself! Perhaps it was personal humility that drove him to do so. If Lefroy had acquired the first known twopence in 1878, he probably would not have needed the cut from *The Numismatic Chronicle*. As the author of that article, he would have supplied the cut! Nor does it seem likely Lefroy would have described the twopence as having been “lately found.” Indeed, he would have owned the discovery specimen for approximately five years. He does not mention owning the piece, nor any of his personal exploits in publicizing these tokens. Lefroy regarded himself as the savior of Bermuda’s precious and rapidly deteriorating colonial artifacts, including the paper records from the Somers Islands era and Hogge Money. Thus, his modesty in this regard is puzzling.

And a Threepence!

The last denomination to be positively identified via a discovery specimen was the threepence. This discovery does not depart from tradition: it, too, is documented, but not too well documented! This piece is purported by Breen to have been uncovered in Bermuda some time prior to 1883 by J. Kermack Ford. On page 10 of his *Complete Encyclopedia of US and Colonial Coins*, Breen cites an unspecified 1883 source attributed to Lefroy as his source. Breen’s quote:

Discovered by J. Kermack Ford in Bermuda before 1883; Lefroy {1883}.

Based on the specified year of the blind reference, it can be either Lefroy’s article in the Third Series, Volume III of *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, or the second edition of *Memorials of Bermuda* both of which were published in 1883. Researching both documents reveals that he likely used *The Numismatic Chronicle* as his source.

Breen can easily be forgiven for his pithy treatment of this topic after one realizes just how succinct his source – Lefroy’s article – really is. Lefroy’s account of this token’s discovery in *The Numismatic Chronicle* is:

I have now the good fortune to be enabled, by the kindness of Mr. J. Kermack Ford, to present a fourth variety, hitherto unknown, of the value of *iii d*. Mr. Ford found it some years ago, by the merest accident, in turning over a quantity of old copper coins in a dealer's hands.

With that concise passage, the trend line was further extended: the discovery specimen came complete with an emotionally appealing story that contained too little detail to be refuted. Curiously, Lefroy does not identify Bermuda as the location for the discovery of this specimen. Thus, it seems to be a leap of faith for Breen (who based his statement on Lefroy) to claim that it was discovered in Bermuda. Lefroy does go on to give a brief description of the specimen, and presents a pair of "cuts" to illustrate this piece. Important details, such as when the discovery was made, where the token was found, are subordinated to the fact that a Hogge Money threepence was found. Consequently, more is left unknown about the discovery of the threepence than is known.

In this article, Lefroy expressed some doubts that the S and / characters on the ship-side of the token were really an abbreviation for Somers Islands. The prow of the ship on the coin, and on the cut, is not defined. Instead, the ship's body resembles an open-ended rectangle, with an S occupying the space where the fourth line of the rectangle should be. The / is placed at the stern, but is much higher than the S.

Discovery: A Synopsis

After having researched the discovery stories for the first few pieces of Hogge Money found, it is easy to see several common themes that demonstrate the complexity of research and the need to carefully assess even primary sources of information. To help demonstrate these themes, please refer to the table on the chronological sequence of discovery. This table correlates each of the first few specimens found with the date of discovery, location, discoverer, and the context within which it was discovered. Please note, this is just a synopsis of the first eight specimens found, and is not intended to be a complete or comprehensive census.

Looking at the discovery context for the first eight specimens found, several interesting notions emerge. First, as I demonstrated throughout this article, all of the discovery pieces of new denominations come complete with a tale of discovery that is emotionally appealing, plausible, but cutting a fine line between containing enough detail to be believable and too much detail that could enable refutation. The stories of how the first piece in each new denomination was found stand in contrast to the complete lack of similar discovery tales for subsequent pieces found in each denomination.

Examining the discovery stories themselves reveals the next interesting trend. These stories consist of just three categories. First, nothing is known about the discovery of the piece. Second, it was found in a bag of junk coppers. Third, the specimen was recovered from nature in one of the oldest inhabited parts of Bermuda.

Witness the discovery stories that appear to have been contrived as provenance for the authenticity of the first sixpence and twopence specimens. Both are very appealing emotionally and make for incredible stories! But, that's just what they are – stories that are not credible. The discovery context for the threepence is equally appealing if not very imaginative. Who among us has not dreamed a Walter Mittyesque dream of finding a Brasher doubloon in a bucket of old washers at a garage sale? Perhaps not surprisingly, the more details are known about the context within which a specimen was discovered, the less credible those details become when scrutinized! Where exactly was that garage sale? Hmm. I did not think you would remember. Oh well...at least you have the doubloon!

Chronological Sequence of Discovery

Specimen	Date of Discovery	Locale	Discoverer	Context	Comments
1 st Shilling Small Sails variety	Prior to 1769 (Snelling)	Unknown, but possibly London	Mr. Hollis	Unknown	Ownership of this specimen in nineteenth century is unknown. No documentation to support Breen's identification of this token as a Small Sails specimen has been found.
2 nd Shilling Unknown die variety	Unknown, but probably prior to 1855	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Crosby identified this as the "discovery specimen" and reported that Appleton owned it in 1875. Unclear if this is the Hollis specimen.
3 rd Shilling Likely the Small Sails variety	"a few years" before 1875 (Crosby) and probably prior to 1855	Unknown, but possibly New York	Unknown	Rescued from a bag of old coppers "considered of very little value"	Crosby's specimen. The specimen depicted in Plate I of his book is the Small Sails variety. Assuming Crosby used his own specimen for illustrative purposes, we can identify his specimen as a Small Sails variety.
4 th Shilling Large Sails variety	Between 1875 and 1890 (Breen)	Unknown	Parmelee	Unknown	It is not known if Parmelee purchased a previously known specimen and "discovered" it was a new die variety from the previously known Small Sails type or somehow acquired a "new" specimen not previously known to the numismatic community. The only previously known specimen he could have acquired and attributed as a new variety was the Appleton specimen since this specimen has not been traced for die attribution.
1 st Sixpence Small Portholes variety	"some twenty years" prior to 1875 (Crosby)	St. George's, Bermuda	Unknown	Purported to have been dug up in a garden.	Betts specimen. Illustrated on Plate I of Crosby's book.
1 st Twopence Small Star variety	1877 (Lefroy)	Near Port Royal, Bermuda	Anonymous child	Purported to have washed up on a beach.	Discovery story is not plausible. Purchased by Lefroy.
1 st Threepence	"some years" prior to 1883 (Lefroy)	Unknown, but possibly Bermuda	J. Kermack Ford	Found in a quantity of old coppers "in a dealer's hands."	Discovery story proffered by Lefroy in <i>The Numismatic Chronicle</i> .
2 nd Twopence Unknown die variety	1882 (Lefroy)	St. George's, Bermuda	Unknown	Unknown	No discovery story offered by Lefroy. Introduction to numismatic community was an afterthought in an article on a different topic in <i>The Numismatic Chronicle</i> .

The Bermudian Perspective

One must bear in mind that the vast majority of the corpus of evidence presented throughout this article was originally targeted squarely at American numismatists. To be sure, some of the references were explicitly created for Bermudian and English audiences, but the bulk of the material that has been subsumed into the collective consciousness of the American numismatic community today is based on American sources. That results in a natural cultural bias that may serve to further occlude the re-emergence of Hogge Money.

Digging a bit deeper into Lefroy's work, for example, provides some insight as to just how great the cultural barriers were between Bermudians and Americans with respect to Hogge Money. I have painstakingly assembled for you the discovery tales of the first eight Hogge Money specimens known to American numismatists. It took from 1769 until 1882 for those eight to become known and accepted. Compare that with Lefroy's almost casual comment on page 100 of Volume I of his *Memorials*:

The 'coyne' to pass current in the Somer Islands which the Company had license to establish and cause to be made, can never have been issued to any extent, or it would not now be so exceedingly scarce. Only one specimen is known to English collectors (1), and I have not seen more than eight or nine in Bermuda.

The (1) is a superscript pointing to a footnote that reads:

(1) Mr. Henry Christmas, in the 'Numismatic Chronicle,' N.S., vol ii., 1861-2, p. 210; and the present writer, id., 1876.

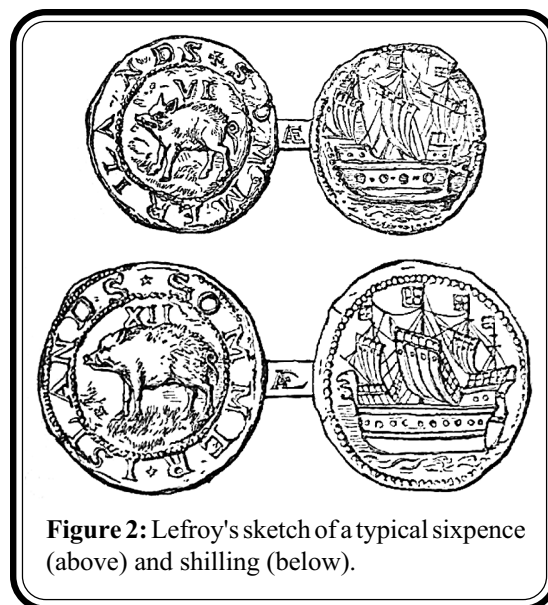


Figure 2: Lefroy's sketch of a typical sixpence (above) and shilling (below).

Herein lays the dichotomy. Whereas acceptance of Hogge Money specimens came slowly, almost grudgingly in the American numismatic community, Lefroy completely and unhesitatingly embraced the specimens as genuine. Instead of questioning their origin, he warmly embraces them as a cherished memento of his nation's heritage. He takes the time to explain why they are so rare, but otherwise does not doubt the origin of the specimens he has examined. Lefroy goes on to state: "There are at least two denominations having the numerals XII. and VI. upon them, but all the impressions are very imperfect." The two denominations known to Lefroy are illustrated in Figure 2, as he presented them on page 101 in Volume I of his *Memorials*.

With that one casual, unsupported and nebulous statement buried⁸ in over 1200 pages of primary reference material from Bermuda's earliest days of colonization, Lefroy completely validates the entire premise of this article. While Lefroy fails to identify how many of each

⁸ This reference is literally buried; the index points the reader to a reference of "Hog Money" on page 104, but that is a typographical error. The material referenced is really on page 100. Thus, a bit of diligence and patience is required when researching Lefroy's *Memorials*.

denomination he encountered, his words are quite revealing nonetheless. The total number of tokens that Lefroy claims knowledge of by 1883 correlates almost perfectly with the number of specimens known to the American numismatic community. But, Lefroy was only talking about shillings and sixpences!

Lefroy gives no indication as to the timeframe for his identification of those specimens in Bermuda. Lack of such detail prevents ascertaining how many of the tokens included in Lefroy's "census" were included in the eight specimens known to American numismatists. Knowing that Lefroy's text referred to just shillings and sixpences limits the possible overlap to just one sixpence and two shillings (the Appleton and Crosby specimens). The Appleton and Crosby shillings appear to have been held in American collections for long enough that Lefroy probably did not encounter them in Bermuda. The only other candidate for overlap was Parmelee's specimen, which Crosby didn't appear to know about. The range of dates for the discovery of Parmelee's specimen does not preclude its ownership in a Bermudian collection during the timeframe that Lefroy was looking for them. As such, it may have been one of the specimens seen by Lefroy. But, Lefroy's sketch of a shilling shows a small sails reverse, and Parmelee's shilling was the first known large sails shilling specimen. Thus, it may not have been seen by Lefroy.

Lefroy's claim that only one specimen was known to English collectors may well be our best clue as to the fate of Mr. Hollis' specimen. It is quite plausible, but not at all provable, that Hollis' shilling traded hands in Merry Olde England, eventually coming to rest in Mr. Henry Christmas's⁹ collection nearly a century later.

The last remaining source of potential overlap between Crosby's census and Lefroy's is the sixpence. If each man only knew about one piece, a description of the die variety is not possible. Given that caveat, Lefroy's illustration appears to depict a large portholes sixpence which differs from the small portholes sixpence that Betts' specimen proved to be. Crosby did tell us that the Betts' sixpence had been held for some twenty years in an American collection at the time of his book's publication. Those tandem data would suggest two different specimens as opposed to two different reports of the same token. Thus, it appears that Lefroy's running tally of shillings and sixpences known in Bermuda in 1883 represents a new population that is separate and distinct from Crosby's census. The Bermudians apparently were quite content to quietly accumulate and hold Hogge Money unbeknownst to their neighbors to the west. All totaled, it seems that there were actually a minimum of 17 specimens that encompassed all known denominations in collections scattered across two continents and an archipelago.

Privately held specimens persist today. Such specimens are deeply cherished by their Bermudian owners, but not necessarily publicized. I have personally examined a shilling and sixpence that were privately owned and unpublicized by a Bermudian collector. My research into 1793 Bermuda coppers published in *CNL* 118 caught this gentleman's eye and we struck up a friendship. He offered to bring the two tokens to New York City where we displayed them during my presentation on Hogge Money at the 2002 ANA convention. That brief display was the first time these two specimens were presented to the American numismatic community. One cannot help but marvel at the close parallels between this experience and the quiet accumulation of Hogge Money that Lefroy implies was occurring in the second half of the nineteenth century.

9 'Numismatic Chronicle,' N.S., vol ii., 1861-2, p. 210.

Conclusion

After reviewing all the evidence about how Hogge Money tokens slowly came back into the collective consciousness, it becomes apparent that there were actually two “rediscoveries.” The first rediscovery was distinctly Bermudian, and characterized by an informal, grass-roots reclamation of a previously lost artifact of Bermuda’s earliest days of colonization. Hogge Money had apparently been quietly re-emerging without much fanfare, and cherished by the lucky few Bermudians who owned them as prized mementoes of the by-gone Somers Islands colony. As such, acceptance came readily. It is even possible that Bermudians knew of the existence of a precious few Hogge Money specimens all along, and that they were really only “lost” in the numismatic sense.

The second rediscovery was distinctly American, and was characterized by a cooler reception if not outright controversy. In this milieu, the re-emergence of Hogge Money was hardly cause for celebration. They were not eagerly embraced; controversy raged on as to whether the first few specimens were, indeed, the almost mythical Hogge Money so obliquely and casually referenced by Captain John Smith in his 1624 *Generall Historie*. As consensus built that these curious bits of struck copper may in fact be the lost Hogge Money of the Somers Islands colony collectors became more discriminating with respect to their origins. Proof was needed as to their authenticity because the stakes were suddenly much higher, particularly for numismatists for whom such tokens represented an investment rather than a touchstone with the past. Acceptance of an oddity from a by-gone day could be done casually. Asserting a specific claim to a historic but previously lost issuance required a much higher standard of evidence. It may have been that this need for authenticity drove the fabrication of spurious, but plausible and “irrefutable” stories about the rediscovery of Hogge Money specimens.

Whether this Machiavellian approach was justified remains up to each individual to judge personally. On the positive side, Hogge Money has become accepted as the earliest monetary vehicle made specifically for North America – the controversy is over and the tokens have achieved a long-denied legitimacy. Contravening this victory is that this acceptance may have come at the expense of the factual record – we will probably never understand what happened to these tokens after they ceased circulating. Personally, I believe that adds to their charm! **CNL**

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